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# ***Daily Report***

## **East Asia**

FBIS-EAS-87-222  
Wednesday  
18 November 1987

# Daily Report

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FBIS-EAS-87-222

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## Japan

### Uno Gives Pledge on Diplomatic Policy

OW181101 Tokyo KYODO in English 0928 GMT  
18 Nov 87

[Text] Tokyo, Nov. 18 KYODO—Foreign Minister Sosuke Uno reiterated Wednesday he will pursue a diplomatic policy which meets the world's expectations of Japan.

Addressing the first meeting with the Tokyo diplomatic corps since he assumed his post on November 6, Uno said he is fully aware of the expectations of Japan regarding its role and responsibilities in the international community.

Praising Japan's diplomatic achievements under former Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone, Uno told the meeting at the Foreign Ministry, "I shall be striving to develop Japan's diplomacy yet further, seeking to make Japan yet more open to the world, a country making a yet-greater contribution to the international community."

### Envoys To Hold Meetings in U.S., Canada

OW180805 Tokyo KYODO in English 0723 GMT  
17 Nov 87

[Text] Tokyo, Nov. 18 KYODO—Japanese ambassadors and consuls general stationed in the United States and Canada will hold meetings late November and early December to discuss the current political and economic situations in the two North American countries as well as bilateral problems with Japan, the Foreign Ministry said Wednesday.

The envoys will also hold trade meetings with Japanese traders and makers there.

The Canadian envoys' meeting will be held on November 23-24 in Ottawa and the U.S. conference on November 30-December 1 in Washington.

A joint trade meeting for Canada will be held on November 26-27 in Montreal and another trade meeting for the U.S. will be held on December 3-4 in Chicago. The diplomats' meetings will be attended by ambassadors to Washington and Ottawa, Nobuo Matsunaga and Yoshio Okawa, and 19 consuls general as well as high ranking officials from Tokyo.

These envoys will also participate in the joint trade conference ministry officials said.

### Settlement Possible in U.S. Farm Dispute

OW180501 Tokyo KYODO in English 0414 GMT  
18 Nov 87

[Text] Washington, Nov. 17 KYODO—A visiting Japanese lawmaker Tuesday said the Japan-U.S. agricultural dispute may be basically resolved in a day or two, possibly through a political settlement made by the United States which is now examining the fresh Japanese proposal.

Tokiichiro Tamazawa, a Liberal-Democrat Diet member, said the possibility of a settlement is strong in the second round of talks due to be held in Washington either Wednesday or Thursday between Japanese Ambassador to the U.S. Nobuo Matsunaga and U.S. trade representative Clayton Yeutter.

Meeting reporters in the U.S. capital, Tamazawa said, "the Japanese and U.S. negotiators have been candidly discussing their proposals."

"The U.S. seems to think it is better to reach a political solution to the thorny issue," he said.

Tamazawa, who is leading a bipartisan parliamentary agricultural mission, strongly asked for a political solution to the issue in a series of talks held Monday and Tuesday with U.S. Government leaders, including Secretary of Agriculture Richard E. Lyng and Deputy U.S. Trade Representative Michael B. Smith.

At issue is the U.S. request for Japan's full liberalization of 12 agricultural products, including processed cheese and tomato juice, on which Japan imposes import restrictions.

In submitting Japan's fresh proposal to Yeutter in their first round of talks Monday, Matsunaga proposed to liberalize the imports of seven items which were among the 10 items identified by a panel of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) as violating the free trade principle, Japanese officials said.

Japan's offer also calls for expanding import quotas for two other items, in addition to the import liberalization, if the U.S. agrees to withdraw its GATT complaint and settle the farm trade dispute through bilateral talks.

The plan is designed to prevent a GATT plenary session, due to open on December 1, from adopting a recommendation calling on Japan to liberalize the import of the 10 items.

The multilateral GATT panel was created at Washington's request.



Through the series of bilateral talks, the Japanese side told the Americans that complete liberalization does not necessarily benefit the U.S. and that the National Federation of Agricultural Cooperative Associations (ZENNO) is threatening to shift its food and grain imports from the U.S. to other nations.

Despite this, the U.S. side said that since the GATT panel has ruled that the Japanese practice violates GATT rules, the time has run out, Tamazawa was quoted as saying.

The U.S. rebuffed the Japanese, saying that it is not afraid of such possible "relations," [as received] he said.

**Removal of Soda Ash Import Curbs Planned**  
*OW180527 Tokyo KYODO in English 0425 GMT*  
18 Nov 87

[Text] Washington, Nov. 18 KYODO—The visiting chairman of Japan's Fair Trade Commission (FTC) said Wednesday the FTC will announce its recommendations next week on removal of Japan's soda ash import curbs.

Setsuo Umezawa made the remark at a news conference after attending an annual meeting on antimonopoly policies with the U.S. Federal Trade Commission.

He said he explained the impending FTC measures to the U.S. Government at the two-day meeting Monday and Tuesday but did not elaborate.

Last year, the U.S. Government accused Japan of its unfair trade practices which it said were blocking U.S. exports of soda ash to the Japanese market.

U.S. Secretary of Commerce C. William Verity, who is en route to Japan, said he will pressure Japan to open its soda ash market during his Tokyo trip.

Umezawa said Japanese Trade Commissioners and their U.S. counterparts also discussed alleged unfair practices by Japanese contractors on bidding for work on the new Kansai international airport project, and export regulations on such products as detergent and margarine.

U.S. Federal Trade Commission Chairman Daniel Oliver and Undersecretary of the Treasury George D. Gould attended the meeting with Umezawa and other FTC officials.

**North Korean Defector Reportedly 'Getting By'**  
*SK160958 Seoul YONHAP in English 0951 GMT*  
16 Nov 87

[Text] Tokyo, Nov. 16 (YONHAP)—North Korean defector Min Hong-ku, 24, has recently informed a Korean minister at a Protestant church in Kitakyushu, Fukuoka Prefecture, that he was getting by without any trouble on the outskirts of Tokyo.

The minister of the Kokura church in Kitakyushu, the Rev. Choe Chang-hwa, said Monday that Min telephoned him last Saturday and told him of his safety. Min, a former North Korean soldier who arrived in Japan in October 1983 as a stowaway aboard a Japanese freighter, was recently released on parole after four years of detention in Japan since his arrival from North Korea.

Asked whether Min was living in Tokyo, Rev. Choe said that Min refused to offer any details. However, he quoted Min as saying that he was living near Tokyo and that he could not explain further now. Rev. Choe added that during the 20 minute-telephone conversation, Min said he sometimes enjoyed driving an automobile.

Rev. Choe has been assisting Min with the legal matter of his seeking asylum in Japan since his arrival. Min had been detained by immigration authorities in Yokohama as an illegal entrant and was released on parole earlier this month.

**Paper Stresses U.S. 'Aggressive Nature'**  
*SK181026 Pyongyang KCNA in English 1020 GMT*  
18 Nov 87

[Text] Pyongyang November 18 (KCNA)—These days the U.S. reactionary rulers advertise as if the United States were a "friend" of countries and peoples fighting for peace, freedom and democracy. This is nothing but a camouflage to cover up their aggressive nature, stresses *Nodong Sinmun* today.

A number of facts prove that historically the United States has never been a friend of countries and peoples demanding freedom and democracy.

The author of the article says:

Today the U.S. imperialists are massing large armed forces in the Gulf, creating the danger of a war, while talking about "peace" and "security" in the area.

They are trying to intensify military intervention in Central America, while talking about "peaceful settlement" of the Central American issues.

It is none other than the United States which is resorting to crafty moves to destroy the Nonaligned Movement, advertising that it respects the principles of the movement. And it is also none other than the United States which has voted against new-emerging countries each time resolutions favourable for them were adopted at U.N. General Assembly sessions and other international conferences.

The U.S. imperialists hatched plots to overthrow governments in many new-emerging countries.

These days when the struggle of the South Korean people is being strengthened, the U.S. reactionary rulers are more frantic with disguising themselves as their "friend".

The United States is not friend of countries and peoples demanding freedom and democracy. It is clearly proved by the fact that it has given supports to reactionaries and counterrevolutionary bandits who are viciously opposing those countries and peoples, the article points out.

### **Polish Foreign Minister Continues Visit**

#### **Meets Kim Il-song**

*SK181037 Pyongyang KCNA in English 1035 GMT  
18 Nov 87*

[Text] Pyongyang November 18 (KCNA)—The great leader President Kim Il-song today received Marian Orzechowski, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party and foreign minister of the Polish People's Republic, who is on an official goodwill visit to Korea, and his entourage.

Present on the occasion were Kim Yong-nam, member of the Political Bureau of the WPK Central Committee, vice-premier of the Administration Council and foreign minister, and Mieczyslaw Dedo, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Polish People's Republic to Korea.

President Kim Il-song had a talk with the guests in a cordial and friendly atmosphere.

The foreign minister presented a gift to President Kim Il-song.

#### **Talks With Kim Yong-nam**

*SK180424 Pyongyang KCNA in English 0414 GMT  
18 Nov 87*

[Text] Pyongyang November 17 (KCNA)—Talks were held here Tuesday between Kim Yong-nam, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, vice-premier of the Administration Council and foreign minister, and Marian Orzechowski, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party and foreign minister of the Polish People's Republic.

At the talks the two sides informed each other of the successes of the socialist construction and the situation of their respective countries and said with satisfaction that the friendly and cooperative relations between the two countries have developed at a very high level since the meetings of the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song and respected Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski.

Both sides put emphasis on further developing these relations in an overall way in the future.

Expressing full support to the proposals put forward by the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song for peace on the Korean peninsula and its peaceful reunification, the Polish foreign minister noted that the proposal to found the democratic confederal republic of Koryo is a realistic one which accords with the interests of the Korean people and peace and security in Asia and the rest of the world.

Poland, he declared, will actively strive to carry into practice the proposal to cohost the 24th Olympic games in the North and the South.

Foreign Minister Kim Yong-nam supported the proposals advanced by respected Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski for peace and security in Europe.

A complete identity of views was reached on the problems discussed at the talks which proceeded in a friendly atmosphere.

#### **PAP Reports on Talks**

*LD181002 Warsaw PAP in English 0023 GMT  
18 Nov 87*

[By PAP correspondent Jarzy Bajer]

[Text] Pyongyang, Nov. 17—Tuesday, the second day of the official visit of friendship to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea by PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] CC Political Bureau member and Poland's Minister for Foreign Affairs Marian Orzechowski, saw the continuation of Polish-Korean talks on the level of diplomatic heads of the two countries.

DPRK's Foreign Minister Kim Yong-nam presented on behalf of his government a very high appraisal of Polish-DPRK relations, and said that the DPRK's highest party and state authorities considered relations with Poland one of the most important items in their entire foreign policy. Personal contacts between the leaders of the two countries have contributed to the consolidation of the nature of bilateral relations, he stressed.

The Korean side noted that the existing possibilities of expanding economic and trade contacts should be made use of more effectively, and assured they would spare no effort to that end.

Discussing the DPRK's internal issues, Minister Kim Yong-nam said that all the nation's effort was directed towards a re-unification of Korea as well as towards fulfilling the directives of the third national 1987-1993 plan ahead of schedule.

Minister Orzechowski assured the Korean side of Poland's support for the DPRK's proposed initiatives pertaining to the re-unification of the country, reduction of armed forces in both parts of Korea, and establishment of a nuclear-free zone in the Korean peninsula.

Resulting from the Armistice Treaty mandate, Poland's participation in the work of the supervising commission of neutral states is a manifestation of her commitment to easing tensions in the Korean peninsula. Poland declares herself in favour of democratization of political life in the Korea's southern part, believing that the process will contribute to the establishment of premises encouraging re-unification.

Poland also supports the DPRK's stand on co-hosting the 1988 Olympic games.

Discussing the key problems of peace and security, the sides emphasized the importance of the preliminary Soviet-American accord on medium-and shorter-range nuclear missiles for the alleviation of tensions in international situation.

Poland's foreign minister presented at length the tenets of the Jaruzelski Plan on reduction in armaments and increase in confidence in central Europe, and pointed out the positive reception and interest in the plan in the light of efforts to ensure peace and security for Europe. He also underlined that there were many convergent elements in the disarmament proposals put forward by Poland and the DPRK.

The ministers also discussed the present situation in Asia and actions aimed at easing the tensions on that continent.

#### **Signs Cooperation Plan**

*SK181039 Pyongyang KCNA in English 1037 GMT  
18 Nov 87*

[Text] Pyongyang November 18 (KCNA)—A plan for cooperation for 1987-1991 between the foreign ministries of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Polish People's Republic [PPR] was signed in Pyongyang on November 18.

The plan was signed by Kim Yong-nam, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, vice-premier of the Administration Council, and foreign minister, and Marian Orzechowski, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party and foreign minister of the PPR.

#### **Tours Various Sites**

*SK180445 Pyongyang KCNA in English 0437 GMT  
18 Nov 87*

[Text] Pyongyang November 18 (KCNA)—Marian Orzechowski, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party and foreign minister of the Polish People's Republic, and his party, on a visit to our country, visited Mangyongdae Tuesday.

Being briefed on the revolutionary history of the great leader President Kim Il-song and his revolutionary family, the guests went round with a keen interest to see momentoes and posed for a photograph in front of his native home in memory of their visit to Mangyongdae.

Then, the guests went to the West Sea Barrage crossing 8 kilometre-long rough sea.

The foreign minister wrote in the visitor's book:

The West Sea Barrage, a gigantic monument built by the Korean people with their own efforts and technique, greatly contributes to economic development in your country.

We sincerely wish the Korean people greater success in the building of socialism.

On the same day the foreign minister and his party laid wreaths before the Revolutionary Martyrs Cemetery on Mt. Taesong, the Liberation Tower and the Friendship Tower and appreciated a music and dance performance at the Mansudae Art Theatre.

#### **VNS Says DJP Maneuvers To Split Opposition**

*SK180943 Pyongyang Domestic Service in Korean  
1200 GMT 16 Nov 87*

[Text] The Voice of National Salvation has exposed maneuvers of the DJP, a private gangster group of the Chon Tu-hwan-No Tae-u ring, to split and break up the opposition forces.

Reporting that this has been learned from news from Chung-ku, in the city of Seoul, the radio broadcast revealed that traitor No Tae-u, the DJP presidential candidate, has mobilized special agents to incite opposition figures to confront each other in a bid to fabricate his election as president.

Revealing that members of the Youth Voluntary Service Corps of the DJP are being mobilized for these maneuvers, the radio broadcast reported that, disguising themselves as members of the Tongkyo-dong faction led by Kim Tae-chung and as members of the Sangdo-dong faction led by Kim Yong-sam at stumping rally sites, these members are attempting to split and break up the opposition forces by using violent acts to provoke the opposite side or to kick up shocking incidents, when necessary, at the stumping rally sites.

Revealing that those who kicked up the violence against Kim Tae-chung in front of the Kukje Hotel in Pusan on the evening of 1 November were precisely the gangsters of the DJP Youth Voluntary Service Corps, the radio broadcast reported that traitor No Tae-u is concocting a plot not only to allow members of the Youth Voluntary Service Corps, which is modeled after the Nazi Youth Corps, to terrorize on Kim Tae-chung, but also to victimize Kim Yong-sam by shifting responsibility for it



on him. The radio broadcast then exposed that traitor No Tae-u is trying to eliminate his rivals by such base a method and, thus, to take the seat of president by brutally suppressing the opposition forces.

The radio broadcast also warned that traitor No Tae-u may kick up another shocking incident in a bid to perpetrate fraudulence in the presidential election.

**Paper Comments on Chon 'Repressive Measures'**  
*SK180451 Pyongyang KCNA in English 0440 GMT*  
18 Nov 87

[Text] Pyongyang November 18 (KCNA)—The traitor Chon Tu-hwan made public "a talk" announcing that the "presidential elections" would be held on December 16. He waxed eloquent in it about "the peaceful transfer of power," "fair elections in a free atmosphere" and the like, as if his group were interested in fair elections. He even cried that, to this end, the "anti-democratic forces" must be meted out "punishment."

With the announcement of the date of "presidential elections" the puppets issued to the police all over South Korea a repressive order to enter upon "special emergency duty."

Hitting at this, a signed commentary of *Nodong Sinmun* Wednesday says:

The Chon Tu-hwan-No Tae-u group, though lost to all sense of shame, is not in a position to mumble about fair elections. It is the military gangster clique itself which must be punished to clear the way for democratisation in South Korea.

If the elections are to be impartial, a structure must be set up for their fair control, first of all. But the Chon Tu-hwan-No Tae-u group is insisting on elections under the present fascist "cabinet," balking at the demand of the democratic forces for the formation of a national neutral cabinet. This itself is an indication that it has no intention to have fair elections.

The commentary points out that the puppets, under the pretext of "punishing" the "forces obstructing fair elections," are shoving the "youth service corps," a terrorist group, and plainclothes men into opposition campaign halls to stage rowdiness and terrorise opposition figures while resorting to a bribing offensive and manoeuvres to split the opposition camp after working out a "vote-winning strategy."

They seek in this to disorganise and defeat the democratic forces and rig the "election" of the traitor No Tae-u by placing South Korea under a more stringent "emergency alert" around the elections and crushing the democratic forces and thus extend the dictatorship, declares the commentary.

**Arrest of South's Pro-North Students Reported**  
*SK180431 Pyongyang KCNA in English 0419 GMT*  
18 Nov 87

[Text] Pyongyang November 18 (KCNA)—The South Korean people of all strata are moved to hear that the students of Korea University have conducted activities to arm themselves with the immortal *chuche* idea and explain and propagandize it among students, according to a radio report from Seoul.

Sin Cho-won, Yi Chae-kyong and So Min-sok and 17 other students of Korea University formed an underground organization called "a national committee for ideological struggle" in December last year and firmly armed themselves with the *chuche* idea and, on this basis, organized a systematic study of the "*chuche* idea of President Kim Il-song" among members of the general student council and other students.

They used as textbooks over 30 kinds of books for awakening students including the *History of National Liberation Movement* that they made by themselves, regularly listening to Radio Pyongyang and, at the same time, widely propagandized and disseminated them among fellow students.

It was reported that they inaugurated a committee for the promotion of activities of the general student council, its affiliated organization, and have energetically conducted the signature campaign for the formation of a national neutral cabinet in league with students organizations.

Upset by this, the Chon Tu-hwan-No Tae-u group detained 8 boy and girl students including Sin Cho-won and Yi Chae-kyong on a charge of violating the "national security law", a fascist evil law, and issued warrants of arrest for 14 students including So Min-sok, kicking out a row of dragnet.

This shows once again that the great *chuche* idea, a man-centered philosophical idea, is firmly grasping the hearts of the South Korean students and people of all walks of life who have risen in the righteous struggle for independence, democracy and reunification and that they have accepted the great *chuche* idea as their unshakable guiding idea.

**Students in North Condemn Regime in South**  
*SK181031 Pyongyang KCNA in English 1025 GMT*  
18 Nov 87

[Text] Pyongyang November 18 (KCNA)—As a commentary of *Nodong Sinmun* November 13 reported that the South Korean puppet clique took away the remains of patriotic student Pak Kwan-hyon, students of the University of Light Industry held a meeting instantly and condemned the military brigands' crime.

Fifth-year students of the textile management course of the light industry management faculty at the university who have enlisted in their class patriotic martyr student Pak Kwan-hyon, a participant in the heroic Kwangju popular uprising, unaminously denounced the puppet clique for taking away the remains of Pak Kwan-hyon which was being carried from his native place to the Mangwoldong Cemetery of Resistance Martyrs in Kwangju, branding this as one more thrice-cursed fascist tyranny which can be committed only by rare human butchers.

They stated with indignation:

This outrage of the Chon Tu-hwan-No Tae-u fascist clique clearly shows how viciously and recklessly the murderers are running to cover their crime of having soaked the whole land of Kwangju in a sea of blood.

No Tae-u is now getting so shameless as to go mad with the "campaign tour" to take the puppet presidential chair under the signboard of "democracy". He, Kwangju murderer and fascist tyrant, is not entitled to be a "candidate for president". He should drop out of the presidential race.

They called upon South Korean students to fight staunchly, holding higher the banner of anti-U.S., anti-fascist struggle with a view to making the enemy pay for the blood of their classmate and realise the wishes of the patriotic students and resolutely smash the puppet clique's machinations to extend its military dictatorship.

**Workers Labor To Finish 'Light Games' Arena**  
*SK180455 Pyongyang KCNA in English 0446 GMT*  
18 Nov 87

[Text] Pyongyang November 18 (KCNA)—The construction of the sports village in Mangyongdae District, Pyongyang, is progressing at fast speed.

The Angol stadium with 25,000 seats and the nine gymnasiums present their full views of grand and light shapes.

There 40 sports games of 20 events will be held at a time.

There is a light game gymnasium among those gymnasia of peculiar styles.

The light game gymnasium with a total floor space of 15,000 square metres and an accommodation capacity of 4,000 is 140 metres long, 84 metres wide and 21.7 metres high. Light games of all events such as heavy gymnastics, calisthenics, high jump, long jump and 100 and 200 metre races will be played.

There are scores of rooms including eight players' waiting rooms, and referees' rooms, saunas and bathrooms on the first floor and live telecasting rooms, international telephone rooms and broadcasting rooms on the second floor.

The reviewing stands are installed on two sides only and the spacious inside will give a refreshing sensation to the spectators.

Now the builders are conducting an energetic drive to finish the project in the main within this year.

## South Korea

### Interviews With Four Presidential Candidates

#### DJP's No Tae-u

*SK151201 Seoul Domestic Television Service in Korean*  
1200 GMT 12 Nov 8

["Summary" of 12 November panel discussion with No Tae-u, DJP president, by Hong In-kun, deputy editor in chief of TONG-A ILBO; Kum Chang-tae, acting editor in chief of CHUNGANG ILBO; An Pyong-chan, editorial writer of HANGUK ILBO; and Kang Son-ku, Munhwa Broadcasting Corporation [MBC] News Department director, under the sponsorship of the Kwanhun Club; questioners identified by captions—videotaped]

[Text] [Hong In-kun] I think that the 12 December incident was raised as an issue with Chong Sung-hwa, former general chief of staff of the Army, who entered the RDP at the beginning of the week. The ruling and opposition parties are contradicting each other in interpreting and evaluating the incident. Will you talk about what you think of this?

[No Tae-u] I am well aware that the 12 December incident has been brought up as an election issue. To help your understanding, we cannot but recall the 26 October incident. During the 18-year period power was almost absolute. It collapsed in a moment. In other words, a big power vacuum was created. Tremendous turmoil followed. It was political and social chaos. I am sure that you remember the difficult situation in which the entire country except for Cheju Province was placed under emergency martial law. At that time we believed that the military was the last bulwark that could overcome that political and social disturbance. I am sure that the people thought so. The incident proceeded from the standpoint that there would be big trouble if the military began to be shaken and if anything occurred in the Army. Unfortunately, however, Kim Chae-kyu assassinated the head of state and disguised himself as something he was not; that is, he described himself as a fighter for democracy and freedom. Also, the investigation dragged on.



This was announced by lawmaker Yu Hak-song yesterday. At the time of the incident, Mr Chong Sung-hwa was near the spot and heard the gunshots. Both our Army and people were suspicious of him. Under this situation, there would have been a big problem if the investigation did not proceed smoothly. The division of the Army and its internal conflict would cause a crises of national ruin. We were placed in this emerging situation. I can tell you that it is certain and true that such an act on 12 December was conducted, proceeding from a single-hearted devotion and determination for national salvation that since the military is the last bulwark, it should not be shaken, but it should stand fast and discharge its duty.

[Kum Chang-tae] At his news conference yesterday, lawmaker Yu Hak-song stated that at the time of the 12 December incident, he ordered the mobilization of troops after discussion among the Army cadres who got together at Kyongpok Palace. It is difficult to understand that despite the fact that a corps commander and a division commander were on the spot, the assistant defense minister for logistics, a staff member of the defense minister, ordered the mobilization of troops simply because he was a senior officer and the field army moved according to his order. Will you talk about with whose permission you went to Kyongpok Palace although you should have defended an important defense line on the western front under an emerging situation in the wake of an accident to the head of state and about what role you played there?

[No Tae-u] Concerning the assertion that there was danger of a southward invasion, the result of the incident clarified the situation. Since the 12 December incident, our military leaders, including those of the U.S. 8th Army, have seriously discussed this issue. In view of the nation's crisis, the mobilization of troops was helpful in rescuing the nation from the crisis. Needless to say, I cannot say that pulling out the reserve forces from the frontline area would not hamper the defense of the frontline. However, national crisis mean crisis from both within and without.

[Question] Please tell us frankly about how six military leaders assembled in Kyongpok Palace and what opinions were exchanged among them.

[No Tae-u] Incidentally, the six were on intimate terms with General Chong Sung-hwa. As we respected Gen Chong, we wanted Gen Chong himself to resign from the important positions of Martial Law Commander and the Army chief of staff so that the investigation could proceed fairly and justly.

[Question] A rumor said that the plan to reassign Major General Chon Tu-hwan, who headed the joint investigation headquarters at that time, to an east coast unit, was the cause of the 12 December incident. What do you think?

[No Tae-u] I did not hear about it at that time. I heard of it after the investigation.

[Question] What would you do if young officers start pulling out their troops, yielding to a similar temptation?

[No Tae-u] I can confidently say that we were on the side of justice. Who would respect a commander who encouraged a man who shot the president? Who would trust such an Army chief of staff? We were of the opinion that he should either resign from the post of Army chief of staff or kill himself.

Some people said that our acts were disrespectful of our superior. But our acts were backed with great justification and justice.

[Question] Though you said that the arraignment of Gen Chong was to avoid a clash, there was a clash. Thus, we may say that it was a political revolt involving violence. Don't you admit that it was a semi-coup?

[No Tae-u] Such a definition is simply preposterous. A coup is intended to seize government power. However, we carried out only the original military mission after the incident.

[Question] Yet, the 12 December incident was inevitably linked to the launching of the Fifth Republic. When the Fifth Republic was created, the core forces seized all important positions in the military and advanced to political circles later, as if their actions were being rewarded. What is your opinion of this?

[No Tae-u] I am presently a presidential candidate. However, I did not desire to become a politician or a presidential candidate. I think it is my fate, shaped by the conditions of an era.

[Question] You have reached your current position through military ruling organizations. Therefore, some say that this is an extension of military rule. What do you think?

[No Tae-u] How can one who would cause disorder after seizing power ward off the influence of the military? Only one who can achieve stability can do so. I am confident that I can do this. Our Army is democratic.

[Question] How can you thoroughly resolve the Kwangju incident? Please tell us why you cannot go to Mangwoldong [cemetery of those who died during the Kwangju incident]?

[No Tae-u] As soon as I become president, I will settle the Kwangju incident on a priority basis and go to Mangwoldong.

[Question] What is your view of the fundamental nature and significance of the Kwangju incident? Please tell us whether it is true that you condemned those who participated in the Kwangju incident as a mob when the incident took place, and whether you approved of or opposed quelling the incident.

[No Tae-u] At that time I was concerned about the Kwangju incident as commander of the Capital Defense Command. The groundless rumors, exaggerated propaganda, and some videotapes in random circulation were detrimental to national harmony.

[Question] You said that only you can stop the intervention of the military. How can you tell your juniors in the military not to do what you did in the past?

[No Tae-u] It was an excessive expression if I said that only I can stop it. I meant to stress that I am confident. If we achieve democratization, social stability, and development in all fields, military intervention will be impossible. What I should do is to build a base of stability and development too prevent military intervention.

[Question] Before the 29 June declaration, you said it was far from possible to accept the assertions of the demonstrating students. However, since your visit to the United States, you have been stressing nationalism. What caused such a change?

[No Tae-u] Before I made the 29 June declaration, I had undergone a time of deep agony and had frank discussions with many persons from various social strata. The basis of the students' anti-U.S., anti-foreign force assertions was not communist or left-leaning, but it was the spirit that they would not tolerate anything that hurts national self-respect.

[Question] President Kim Chong-pi of the New Democratic Republican Party, speaking at the Kwanhun Club debate, said that the 17 May incident was a wicked younger brother of the 16 May coup. What is your view of this? You said that with the launching of a new government, a new republic will be born. Why do you think so?

[No Tae-u] The 16 May coup was certainly a military revolution. But the 17 May incident was an act designed to minimize confusion and maintain order. Some time ago I mentioned "a new republic, a new government, a new national assembly" in one of my speeches, and I anticipate that the press may add a number to the republic.

[Question] You said that on the eve of the 17 May incident, you visited the three Kims and appealed to them in tears, saying, "Please select one of the three of you and do your share to defend the country." None of the three Kims said that they met you.

[No Tae-u] I have not said that I met them personally. It is, however, true that I met many political leaders, religious figures, scholars, and journalists and appealed to them in tears. At that time 50,000 to 100,000 students and crowds took to the streets in Seoul every day. It was order that the people wanted. However, none of the politicians appealed for order. The people will remember that one of them made such an agitating remark as "democracy grows by feeding on blood," visiting this school and that.

[Question] Before the 29 June declaration you stated that you were in favor of maintaining the current Constitution, but after the declaration your position changed entirely. Are you a man of no principles? How would you explain the change?

[No Tae-u] Are you saying this in connection with the constitutional revision? Until 2 or 3 years ago, people doubted the promise for the 7-year single term and worried about the possibility of long-term power through a constitutional revision. At that time we asserted upholding the single term and defending the Constitution to make democracy settle down in this country. Then we accepted the people's demand for constitutional revision and put forth a bill for constitutional revision for a cabinet system which even the opposition party lawmakers favored personally. The 29 June declaration was, after all, to accept the demands of the people. If you are referring to this as lacking in principles, I am not convinced. [laughter]

[Question] Early this month, you put up a newspaper advertisement "I will allow the people freely walk in front of the presidential mansion and allow them to criticize the president publicly." And when you visited your native place some time ago, you told the people there, "If I am elected president, please take that as your honor and wish for nothing more." Was this because you had the unpopularity of the present government in mind?

[No Tae-u] I think that the president should not feel any special sense of authoritarianism or privilege or an attitude of reigning over the people. The era of ordinary people is one in which the president can stand hand in hand with newspaper boys on the corner of Kwanghwamun. If I become president, I will put into practice an environment where those who are close to me will be no better off.

[Question] If you are elected president, will you want news reports of your activities to be treated as top news items in the television news hour at 2100, regardless of their value as news items?

[No Tae-u] First of all, I can say that you would not do so.

[Question] According to hearsay, these days, many people are gathering around the house of your younger brother, No Chae-u. And what is the Taelim Association?

[No Tae-u] I heard that. So, I ordered my brother to keep his hands off the association.

[Question] In connection with Mr Chong Sung-hwa's affiliation with the RDP, Mr Kim Tae-chung criticized him. People say that Mr Kim Tae-chung's criticism of Mr Chong Sung-hwa may in a way constitute support for you. We remember that last September, you said "I believe the opposition party will field a single presidential candidate." Do you still believe it?

[No Tae-u] I think that criticizing and slandering each other is not a desirable attitude for political leaders to assume. As for the problem of fielding a single opposition presidential candidate, I think I am not in a position to comment on it.

[Question] What is meant by ordinary people? Can the presidential candidate of the ruling party, who was an Army general officer and who served in high-ranking posts in the government in the past, be said to be an ordinary man?

[No Tae-u] Ordinary people do not rest with the position that they are holding, but rest with their way of thinking, wisdom and common sense. I do not like men of self-assertion.

[Question] We understand that the government has failed to embark on the construction of the Seoul-Pusan express electric railway, because it has been unable to obtain required funds totaling as much as 3 trillion won. However, as a campaign pledge you have promised the people that you will construct an East-West electric express railway. You have also promised that if you are elected as the president you will build 500,000 dwelling houses for the people. Six trillion won will be required for this. How can you obtain such huge amounts of funds?

[No Tae-u] We have already started adjusting the Sixth 5-year Plan. We have completed reviewing the options for financing the construction of the electric express railway which will require 750 billion won. A review of civilian investments in the construction is also under way now. Obtaining the funds for the construction of 500,000 dwellings is not a big problem.

[Question] We heard that you shed tears when President Chon nominated you as presidential candidate at Chongwadae. Were they tears of deep emotion or tears of relief?

[No Tae-u] I shed tears at that time. I was filled with the feeling of being afraid of heaven and the feeling of being afraid of history and the people. I shed tears, proceeding from such pious and solemn feelings.

[Question] What about your property? Has there been any change in your property?

[No Tae-u] I have lived in the same house. I will reveal my property in detail in the future.

[Question] What are your good points in comparison with other candidates? Which candidate do you think is the most difficult candidate to compete with? Is there a possibility that you and Mr Kim Chong-pil will collaborate at the last moment?

[No Tae-u] All of the other candidates have both strengths and weaknesses. They have gained much experience in their political careers. However, they have the weakness of having perpetrated splits in the past, which are not desirable in politics. I think that political experience is also necessary, but no less important is administrative ability and political leadership and ability. These qualities are necessary for national development and stability. I am confident that I can do a better job than anyone else.

[Question] Rumor has it that tax investigations were conducted against Mr Kim Chong-pil in an attempt to check him.

[No Tae-u] I heard such rumors. So, we examined the rumors to confirm whether or not they were true. We reached the conclusion that they were groundless.

[Question] How do you assess your wife? It is said that you do not want your wife to appear in your public activities.

[No Tae-u] She tends to dislike to appear before the public. I am an ordinary man. Likewise, she is also an ordinary woman. She is nothing but the wife of an ordinary man.

[Question] Does your proposal to adopt a joint declaration by the four presidential candidates mean that you can respond to the proposal for forming a pan-national cabinet?

[No Tae-u] A pan-national cabinet is a cabinet which can be formed only when the constitutional order encounters a crisis such as a revolution. The political schedule, including the successful completion of a constitutional revision by compromise between the ruling and opposition parties, has been properly carried out, hasn't it?

[Question] Do you believe that the current Fifth Republic will have received legitimacy, if you win the upcoming election?



[No Tae-u] The successive regimes had their own achievements. What we should do is further develop and rectify the achievements.

[Question] After 17 May 1980, the current government merged print and broadcast media and dismissed public officials. Do you think that this accorded with the purpose of "establishing social order"?

[No Tae-u] At that time, the national foundation was shaken and the country encountered a difficult situation. Therefore, the people wanted reform and stability. The measures were taken under very difficult circumstances.

[Question] There are some people who think that if you are elected president, stability cannot be expected.

[No Tae-u] Theoretically speaking, opposition candidates can also achieve stability. However, we should be aware of the split in the opposition party and the advent of dangerous forces around the opposition party that we have witnessed for the past year.

[Question] Didn't you have secret a promise with President Chon Tu-hwan that "No Tae-u is next"?

[No Tae-u] The presidency is not a position that can be occupied through a promise among friends. The president cannot be decided through a promise with friends. Becoming the president should be regarded as the circumstance of the times and as the destiny of No Tae-u.

#### **RDP's Kim Yong-sam**

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[6 November panel discussion with Kim Yong-sam, president of the RDP, by Kang In-sop, editorial writer for TONG-A ILBO and moderator of the panel discussion; Hong In-kun, editorial writer for TONG-A ILBO; An Pyong-chan, editorial writer for HANGU KILBO; Kang Song-ku, news director of MBC News Department; and Kum Chang-tae, acting editorial bureau chief of CHUNGANG ILBO, under the sponsorship of the Kwanhun Club at the Korean Press Center; panelists identified by captions—videotaped]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Kang In-sop] When we began these panel discussions, we thought that the same persons asking questions of the four presidential hopefuls would be burdensome for them and would fail to maintain a fresh atmosphere. We therefore, had a policy from the outset that we would change the panelists after two rounds. However, in the two previous rounds of discussion, the four panelists asked such serious, sincere, and sharp questions that they boosted the quality of our discussions substantially. We therefore, heard opinions from many people who maintained that we should not change the panelists, but let them continue to ask questions during the subsequent rounds of discussions to ensure consistency and fairness. We pondered this, but

have decided to change the panelists as we had originally planned, for the aforementioned reason that all of the panelists felt it very burdensome and that by changing the panelists we would be able to provide a fresh atmosphere. I am sure that, as you will witness over the course of the discussion, the four new panelists will maintain the same qualitative level of discussion the previous four panelists maintained. Now we will begin the panel discussion.

[Hong In-kun] The moderator has stated that the previous panelists asked very sharp questions. Beginning the new round of discussion, we four panelists feel the burden of doing as well as the previous panelists did. I will now ask the first question. Our people's greatest interest, President Kim Yong-sam, is whether a single opposition presidential candidate can be fielded between you and Kim Tae-chung, chairman of the preparatory committee for founding the Party for Peace and Democracy. In this connection we remember an interview you gave last November in West Germany. In that interview, you, President Kim, said that since candidate Kim Tae-chung is your senior by 5 years, he should run for president before you do. You also said that your idea on this has not changed a bit, even today.

On another occasion, you also said: If a direct presidential election system is instituted and if his civil rights are restored and amnesty is given to him, I would suggest that he run for president.

In a panel discussion at the Kwanhun Club last year, you, President Kim, said: I can firmly clarify that I would be very happy if the three letters of my name, Kim Yong-sam, leave in the record that I died after serving democracy and that I devoted myself to the cause of democracy. However, we can see that the situation you have today is completely different from this. Therefore, my question is: Can you concede to candidate Kim Tae-chung the presidential candidacy so that a single candidate can be fielded between you and him, abiding by such compromises and pledges as you have made?

[Kim Yong-sam] I find in this place reporters who went to West Germany with me last year. At that time, in West Germany I read a news report that quotes Mr Kim Tae-chung as saying that he would not run for president even if a direct presidential election system were instituted or even if his civil rights were restored and amnesty was granted to him. I was shocked at this news report very much, because, at that time, he and I were in a position to consult on all matters together. I had left Seoul 5 days earlier. Until then, he had not told me anything about it. I was very shocked. In an interview with reporters in West Germany, a reporter asked the question: Since Mr Kim Tae-chung has made such a declaration, you, President Kim, should also announce a declaration not to run for president. Will you do so? I answered the question as follows: Doing so would result in helping the Chon Tu-hwan regime. At this crucial moment, now that Mr Kim Tae-chung has announced

his determination not to run for president, if I also announced a similar declaration, it would result in actively helping the present regime. Therefore, I will not announce a declaration not to run for president.

At that time, I also said: When I return to Seoul, I will persuade Mr Kim Tae-chung to run as a presidential candidate if his civil rights are reinstated.

This was my determination at that time. Not only is he older than I am by 5 years, but he also appeared to be in poor health. I thought I would support him as a presidential candidate in the future. I thought it would be all right if there was no such chance for me in the future. I have never dreamed about it. I thought I would do whatever I could do for democratization in our fatherland.

Since that time, I have been observing the course of development from various angles, while asking myself: What is the best way to bring an end to military rule? Will the military rule be brought to an end effectively and without fail if I support Mr Kim Tae-chung's bid for the presidency? I realized that was a very difficult task for him.

So, I have reached a conclusion that I will have to bear the cross of the times, that I have no choice but to shoulder this heavy burden to make sure that the military rule will be brought to an end. Thus, I have changed my mind.

[Kum Chang-tae] What is the basis of your conviction that you alone can put an end to military rule?

[Kim Yong-sam] It is my political sense which I have acquired in the course of my long political career. When I founded the new democratic party and overthrew the Pak Chong-hui regime in 1979, my determination was based on my political sense. Those present there claimed that a direct presidential election system would be absolutely impossible. However, what I have claimed before you, reporters, in the past with confidence is that a direct presidential election system would surely be instituted without fail. When I said in September last year that President Chon Tu-hwan would surrender to the people without fail, some of you did not believe it, saying: Although President Kim Yong-sam says so, it would be impossible to institute a direct presidential election system.

However, frankly speaking, I had a firm conviction on this.

[An Pyong-chan] I am going to ask some additional questions. Last year, on 16 September to be precise, when you were an adviser to the NKDP, I participated in a discussion with you. Things have changed so much during the last year and 2 months since that time and today NKDP President Yi Min-u resigned from his party post. Therefore, it is emotional to put some questions to

you on such a day. What I would like to hear from you has something to do with the so-called morbid longing to be president which has become a topic among the citizens in the wake of your failure to field a single presidential candidate. You stated that you have longed to be president since you were a middle school student. Was it last September when you said this? Ever since you have studied ways to become president. Some even believe that when the 26 October incident took place, you said: Oh, now it is my turn to become ROK president. I know that you would not admit that you have a morbid longing to be president. Which job, for example, do you think carries more weight, party president—the combination of party president, house speaker, and the right to nominate candidates for the National Assembly—or the presidency?

Your answer to this will be appreciated.

[Kim Yong-sam] I am not a man who has contracted presidential fever. [laughter] Of course, every man should have ambition to become somebody when he grows up. To be frank with you, I had such ambition when I was in middle school after the liberation from the Japanese. In those days, when I was a boy, I wrote with a brush and in poor lettering: "The Future President Kim Yong-sam" on a piece of paper and kept it in my boarding house. Some of my friends, who happened to drop by my room, tore it, laughing, and I scolded them.

Which carries more weight? They all do. The house speaker's job and party boss are equally important. Nevertheless, serving the country as president carries more weight than any other job, I would say. Ambition alone is not enough energy to become a president. What I mean is that nobody can become a president simply because he aspires to be one. I have wanted to become president with a sense of responsibility. Ever since I was young—I was elected a national assemblyman when I was 25—and since then, forging my way through the hard years up to the present, I have always considered how I could serve the people. As a way to finally serve the people, I have wanted to become president—not this sham president, but a president legitimately elected by the people, who enjoys the people's support—to serve people who have been destitute and who have been alienated, thinking of what I can do during this era for true freedom and reunification.

[Kum Chang-tae] Whenever you have had the opportunity in your struggle for democratization since your 1983 hunger strike to the present, you have often said that you have emptied your mind. You have stated that you were departing to empty your mind when you experienced friction with former NKDP President Yi Min-u last spring, when you were leaving for Mt Chiri, or somewhere. Seeing this, we are curious to know whether you have to empty your mind whenever something happens. Many people, although they have not said so explicitly, took it that you gave up your desire to become president. However, in view of what you have said and done so far,



you seem to have a stronger and more persistent desire for the presidency than anyone else. Exactly what do you mean by your stating that you emptied your mind? Please explain to us what the present state of your mind is, and if you have emptied your mind, what is the difference between when you have not emptied your mind and when you have emptied your mind?

[Kim Yong-sam] I said that I emptied my mind for the first time when I completed the 23-day hunger strike while I was under house arrest in 1983. The statement that I emptied my mind has religious meaning. You can find much in common between this and the passage in the *Bible*: "Blessed are those who are meek." Interpreting my word that I emptied my mind as stating that I would not run for the presidency is wrong. They mean two different things. When I said that I emptied my mind, I meant to say that I was ready to sincerely serve the people, casting aside my personal interests and my private ambitions. This means that even if I become president, I will never let my personal interests or ambitions interfere in my presidential duty. This means, in other words, that I will walk on the road of fair play and serve the people without personal interest or ambitions. This is what I mean by saying that I have emptied my mind.

[Kum Chang-tae] What is your present state of mind?

[Kim Yong-sam] I still think the same. If I become president, I will do my best for the people without personal interests, with my mind emptied. I will never engage in such things as accumulating wealth for my private ambitions. This is what I would like to boast about most of all in my life. I have never indulged in accumulating wealth. I want to become a really clean president. I have a house that I have owned for about 20 years. I own fixed shore nets, which my father bequeathed to me 20 years ago. This is all the property I own. I do not intend or want to own anything more. Why should I want it? I do not have such personal ambitions. Therefore, even if I become president, my conviction is that I will sternly punish anyone, including my close associates and my family, who collude through irregularities, no matter how much he contributed to democratization. I mean I would serve the people without personal interest or ambitions, and step down without reservations in 5 years. [passage omitted]

[Kang Song-ku] President Kim, you frequently use the phrase "a so-called termination of military government". Generally, however, if one becomes president through democratic procedures even if he has a military career in the past, when the process of taking power is democratic, it is possible to say that his government cannot be defined as a military government. If that is the case, no matter who may be elected president in the current election, since he is subject to fair national judgment under a direct election system, the concept of so-called military government will be automatically wiped away. This objective interpretation is possible.

President Kim, you are maintaining that, if candidate No Tae-u is elected, it would be an extension of military rule. Depending on how one looks at it, this shows in itself a logical contradiction. What do you think of this view?

[Kim Yong-sam] I do not agree with that. If a soldier takes off his uniform, as President Eisenhower of the United States did, and becomes a republican candidate from the beginning, it is natural. A soldier can become president and although a soldier should not be allowed to become president, I believe that anyone should be able to become president—in the case of a soldier, after taking off his uniform. [as heard] However, President No Tae-u is the one who, along with President Chon Tu-hwan, staged the 12 December incident and the coup as a soldier by pulling troops off the frontline. That is how he seized power. That is how he made himself the virtual number one man. How much he has tormented our people for the past 7-8 years. Numerous people died, a vast number of people were imprisoned, and we shed tears after being hit by tear gas bombs. We are suffering even now. If the former military security commander were to become president, who would welcome it? I absolutely believe that he is not persuasive to the people. Obviously that would be an extension of the military government.

[Kang Song-ku] President Kim, it can be your arbitrary interpretation. The ordinary people's interpretation is that there is not much difference between Eisenhower having run in the presidential race some years after taking off his uniform and President No Tae-u running in the presidential election several years after retiring. What is your comment?

[Kim Yong-sam] There is a big difference. In seizing power, President Chon Tu-hwan and President No Tae-u cooperated with each other, each succeeding the other as military security commander. In seizing power the two, who staged a coup together, continue to extend that power. This is an extension of the military government. It can persuade no one.

[An Pyong-chan] I would like to ask you about your foreign policy. You are convinced that you will become president and you are now putting forward various policy alternatives. However there are some who attack you by asking what on earth is the Kim Yong-sam policy line. Some of them appear to attack you by branding you a toady. What attracts our attention in the eight goals of government, which you made public recently, is the one on diplomacy to defend national self-esteem. Taking a look at data that compares your terminology in chronological order, when you visited the United States in September, 1985, and when you met Professor Scalapino 2 months later, you stated to the effect that, since the United States is morally responsible for democratization and human rights in South Korea, the United States should intervene in the ROK Government and exercise its influence. In June 1986, or a little more than a year

later, you again made a critical statement, saying that, since the U.S. Government supports the incumbent government, there is new anti-Americanism rising in South Korea. This is a fact furnished by those who compare your remarks. We also understand that some charge that, while you have your two sons and two daughters taking shelter in the United States, it is hypocritical of you to call acts of students, who make sacrifices in demonstrations at home, democratization acts. Could you please tell us about your views on U.S. policy, your foreign policy, and national self-esteem?

[Kim Yong-sam] Well, you ask so many things all at once. It is very difficult to answer everything in 3 minutes. However I have never asked that the United States intervene in the foreign policy of our country. I only consistently maintained that morally the United States should have an interest in democratization in the ROK and help. I led a dark life under house arrest for more than 2 years. No one could come to my house, and it was house arrest in word only; in substance, it was imprisonment. Of course, I could not go out and hundreds of men surrounded my house. Our children were really unfortunate. I say that they were unfortunate because, when my daughters came to visit me, those young men had our house surrounded. Since they were surrounding our house night and day, it was difficult for my daughters to come in or leave. In addition, our daughters or sons-in-law absolutely could not find jobs. This was the same with my sons, as well. Although they finished military service and graduated from good schools, they could not find jobs anywhere. My daughters, when they got married—let me see, I have three daughters—is it not true that when they got married, daughters accompany their husbands? They have to go wherever their husbands go. So, should they idly spend their time here in Korea? Can they live without having jobs? My sons-in-law went to the United States, taking their wives. I believe they did good by going there. If they had to lead the sort of life they did here in Seoul, I would be in excess pain. Ordinary people do not know about this, but when my first son was married during those long years of my imprisonment, I could not even go out of my house. Because of the house arrest...[changes thought] At that time, this regime asked me to go. A police station chief came to me and said so. So I asked: How can I go while I am under house arrest? He said: You can go out for about an hour only today. I said: What are you talking about? Since there is no mention of me in the newspapers, our people do not know whether Kim Yong-sam is dead or alive. They do not even know if I am here in Korea or not. If I show up at the wedding hall, the people, those who are present at the wedding hall, will say: Mr Chon Tu-hwan is so benevolent as to authorize him to come to the wedding hall while under house arrest. Would they not say so? Of course, I want to go to the wedding ceremony. Why would I not want to be present at the wedding ceremony? But absolutely I will not go. Because I believe that state affairs are more important than my family matters, I absolutely will not go. That is why I did not attend the wedding ceremony.

In such a situation, could my son find a job here? One of my sons is in the United States. He is still studying in the United States, and the other is back here. He is living with me together with his wife and son, while working for a private company.

[Hong In-kun] Please let me talk briefly about regionalism or the question of regional feelings. Who was the first to create local color? Putting that question aside, the localism issue has lately become quite serious. Many believe that such feelings were generated because the two Kims recently held mass rallies in their respective native places. In this connection, it is said that the RDP is using the logic that only when President Kim is put up as a single opposition presidential candidate and thus contests DJP President No Tae-u can the localism issue be resolved. I do not know what the basis is for this sort of idea, but I believe that this sort of idea is also a product of localism. Mr President, what is your comment?

[Kim Yong-sam] You are right. I thought that achieving a sole presidential candidate was one way of removing regionalism. I have often told Mr Kim Tae-chung about this whenever I found the opportune moments to say such a thing. I believe that the choice of a sole presidential candidate, the plum, would lead to the elimination of regionalism and that eliminating regionalism is a very important task facing us at present. Mr Kim Tae-chung and I have often talked about this. With a view toward reaching an agreement on fielding a single choice, I told Mr Kim Tae-chung: Let us try to reach an agreement between the two of us on this issue. Mr Kim Tae-chung also said so. He said this again when he visited our RDP for the first time. He said: I came here—he came to our party when we celebrated our moving into a new office building—because I am confident about fielding a single candidate. I would not have come here if I had no confidence in achieving it. The two of us will achieve the task of fielding a single candidate without competing with each other and without fail. The Sangdodong people should trust me. The Tonggyodong people should trust President Kim. I assure you that we will realize the cause of fielding a single candidate. I am confident in my ability to do so.

Hearing adviser Kim say this, I thought that he had come over to our office with a critical decision. Later, I suggested that we compete with a single candidate when I was in Kwangju. As Mr Kim Tae-chung had earlier made a promise publicly in Kwangju, I suggested to him: There are still 36 local chapters that have not been inaugurated. If you inaugurate 20 among the 36 and I do the other 16, you and I share the party 50 and 50. You have a 50-percent chance of being elected as the presidential candidate and I also have a 50-percent chance. No one can be sure of what will come of the competition. I was determined to run any risk. I had a 50-percent chance of losing to him. This is the state of emptying my mind that I referred to a short while ago. I thought: I do not mind if I fail to be nominated as the presidential

candidate. So, I suggested: Let us decide which of us will run for the presidency. This means that if I win, you recognize my triumph and I will recognize your being the victor if you emerge the winner. Three days later, he refused to accept the idea of our competing against each other. It surprised me very much. With this, the promise for a sole candidate fell through. Nevertheless, I believe this to be the best way to eliminate regionalism.

[Hong In-kun] To a degree, your assertions that fielding a single candidate would contribute to eliminating regionalism are understandable. However what I am talking about is your assertion that you alone should become the sole candidate to compete with DJP President No and only when this happens will regionalism be eliminated.

[Kim Yong-sam] Oh, yes. I remember I told Mr Kim Tae-chung about it. It has already been reported in the newspapers. I told him: In my view, if you run for the presidency, the situation will be a carbon copy of what happened in 1972. I believe you would never win the election. If I am nominated as a candidate, I am confident that I will achieve a landslide victory. This I told him. I still hold the same view. [passage omitted]

[An Pyong-chan] A short political news item today says that you checked with your staff on what kind of men the panelists who suddenly replaced the first group of panelists are [laughter], that you selected a few questions that were likely to be raised by the panelists, and that you rehearsed answers on economic and unification questions on which you are said to be weak. Therefore, I have decided to put to you a question concerning the unification issue. What is the difference between the five-stage theory of unification you have recently put forth and Mr Kim Tae-chung's theory of unification?

[Kim Yong-sam] I think I am one of those who are greatly concerned about the unification question in our country. My mother met a truly sad death 26 years ago. The report on her death was frontpaged on the newspapers at that time. She was murdered by a spy who had defected to the North during the Korean war and had been sent back to the South to operate underground. Her death was truly tragic. Whenever I see young people walk in the streets hand in hand with their mothers, tears well up in my eyes. I was not a devoted son to my mother while she was alive and it was a shock to think of the great loss before I could show my devotion to my mother. I was very young, in my early thirties. I was a member of the National Assembly. I wondered whether I had to quit politics once and for all after such a tragic, unfortunate incident, thinking that it would not have occurred to me if I was not a member of the National Assembly. However, I changed my mind a few days later. I wondered why such things happen. My conclusion was that such things happen because our country is divided and the North still remains under the communist system. Failure to achieve national unification, I thought, took an enormous toll on me by claiming my mother's life. I

said to myself: I will exert efforts to achieve national unification to keep other people from becoming victims like me. This encouraged me to raise my voice about the unification question when people try to lie low concerning it. In 1978, I announced my willingness to meet with Kim Il-song. Because of this announcement, I had to go through indescribable sufferings imposed on me by the DRP regime. It was one of many reasons that led to my ouster from the National Assembly in 1979. On my way home from a visit to the United States in 1985, I stopped in Tokyo to meet with Ishibashi, then JSP chairman, and invited him to visit Korea. Who could have invited Ishibashi, a man who had made several trips to the North to meet Kim Il-song with no constraints? I invited him to come to Seoul, because my aspirations for unification were so ardent and strong, stronger than anybody else's. In addition, although I was president of an opposition party in our country, the current regime has never allowed me any access to intelligence on the North. Korean scholars resident in the United States, Korean scholars who have been to the Soviet Union, Communist China, and the North, as well as Japanese scholars were the only source of information about the North. During my visit to Japan in 1985, Ishibashi told me about his meeting with Kim Il-song. I invited him to visit Korea in the capacity of a party adviser. By this act, I meant to say: Let us conduct an exchange. It was a great development. This astonished many people, including those within our party. It created an uproar not only in the opposition party, but also in the ruling party. But I insisted that he be invited. Only after several rounds of meetings did I manage to persuade the party members. But then the government refused to issue a visa to Ishibashi and my invitation fell through. As I mentioned, I am one of those who have stronger aspirations for unification. I am not a man who will recant his earlier remarks. I firmly stand for what I have said. I am confident in what I say and do. Is my time up? I am sorry, everybody.

[Kum Chang-tae] We understand you. What we would like to hear from you is exactly what is the difference between your theory of unification and that of the government?

[Kim Yong-sam] My theory of unification is based on six principles: independence, peace, reconciliation, transformation—this means transformation into democracy—great democratic participation, and phased accomplishment. The five-stage theory of unification includes the establishment of a democratic government, call for democratic reforms in the North, and active promotion of various forms of nonpolitical exchanges in various fields. This means to open everything to the other side. However, what those in power today do concerning unification is entirely different from what I do. While the current regime claims it pursues cooperation in nonpolitical fields and allows free travel, it says it strengthens political and diplomatic cooperation, it also stands for joint announcement of a democratic system, democratic unification, and community, there is a great gap between



my theory of unification and that of the current regime. In this context, I mean to say that I am a little enterprising and more confident in what I am doing.

[Kang Song-ku] The 100-point platform advanced by the RDP includes denuclearization of the Korean peninsula. In view of the particular security-conscious situation we find ourselves in, the idea about denuclearization can be controversial. At any rate, this idea about denuclearization and the controversial policy on unification contained in the RDP platform have one thing in common. Does this mean that the RDP will absorb even the voices of the socialist forces by taking on a progressive color or does your party have to espouse even such voices to express your interest in certain sectors of voters? [passage omitted]

[Kim Yong-sam] It was announced that we made 100 public pledges but this is not true. That was not published by our RDP. To adopt a policy, it has to be approved by the policy committee, at least. But a draft plan, which was not approved at all, was published in the newspapers. So we made an announcement denying it. Now, this is the story about the nuclear issue. It is my belief that in this age, there should be no nuclear arms. You say that we take this position with the aim of absorbing progressives and progressive forces, but patently I am a free democrat in this age. Therefore, I believe that we can accommodate, step by step, even those who have really extreme rightist ideas and progressive ideologies. For this reason I think that I am being supported by all circles and strata at this very moment. Therefore, I think that our RDP has and should have the capability to accommodate the assertions of various strata in this age and that I myself have that capability. So, regarding the nuclear issue, I have a plan to fully examine it in various ways, if our RDP takes power.

[Hong In-kun] Are tactical nuclear arms included in the proposed nuclear-free zone?

[Kim Yong-sam] Are you referring to nuclear reactors?

[Hong In-kun] I am referring to tactical nuclear arms, nuclear weapons.

[Kim Yong-sam] I ponder deeply what is necessary for peace on the Korean peninsula and other such questions, although I know that there are some people who, in connection with the question of the U.S. military presence in Korea, call for the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Korea. Anyway, I do not believe that the U.S. forces should stay in South Korea forever. But I think that the U.S. forces should remain in Korea until a certain time. I say this because they serve as a deterrent against war and for peace on the Korean peninsula.

[Hong In-kun] I will ask you just one additional question. If you say that there should not be even tactical arms, suppose that U.S. forces in Korea were armed with tactical nuclear arms, how would you explain the contradiction? You said that the U.S. forces need to stay.

[Kim Yong-sam] Did I not tell you that I have no knowledge about that question? What I mean by saying that I have no knowledge is... [changes thought] Although I am the president of the opposition... [changes thought] Am I not the president of the No 1 opposition party, at least, in name? Then this regime should explain to me about the North, what the situation in the North is like, how the situation of our armed forces is, what the U.S. forces are equipped with, and the like.

[Kang Song-ku] It was reported that you made a similar statement before, too. But I wonder if you necessarily have to be briefed by the government even on such military affairs, information on North Korea, and other such questions. Since this is an information age now, there are as many possibilities as you need to gather information through various news publications or information media. In other words, I cannot understand very well why you, the president of a party which claims it will take power, say that you necessarily need government briefings.

[Kim Yong-sam] Well... [pauses] I need to know about the North, the Soviet Union, or Communist China and what intentions they have. Because this is a really important matter, I have a great interest in it. So I try hard to learn various things through Americans, Japanese, and Koreans with U.S. citizenships, who have been to the North, the Soviet Union, or Communist China. What I mean to say is that under democracy, those in power should naturally brief the opposition head on such matters. Were I to take power, I would fully explain these matters to the opposition. This is democracy. That is why we seek it. That is what I meant.

[Hong In-kun] Of the issues to face the next administration, the most important, I think, is the Kwangju incident. Mr Kim Tae-chung has expressed his views on the resolution of the Kwangju incident and he claims to be the only one able to settle the issue. Now, President Kim, could you tell us what you think about those remarks by Mr Kim Tae-chung?

[Kim Yong-sam] Yes, it is possible that Mr Kim Tae-chung could resolve the Kwangju incident, the Kwangju issue. He is the one who could do it. But I think that Mr No Tae-u cannot resolve it. But I think that the most appropriate one would be someone who is not directly involved—that is, Kim Yong-sam here. [Laughter] [passage omitted]

[Kang Song-ku] You are known to be a moderate conservative. As you frequently go to such rallies as the one hosted by the National Confederation of University Student Representatives [CHONDAEHYOP], people

doubt that you are a genuine moderate conservative. As you know, CHONDAEHYOP was formed with the Struggle Committee for National Democracy against U.S. Imperialism and Military Fascists [MINIMTU] as its main force. It has been revealed through the various publications it has put out that MINIMTU assumes Marxism-Leninism as its ideological basis. Is your frequent attendance of rallies hosted by such students designed to ally yourself with them or to take their votes into account?

[Kim Yong-sam] You have said that I have frequently gone to student rallies. I do not go to them frequently. Although I have been frequently asked to attend such meetings arranged by the National Coalition for Democratic Constitution [NCDC] and by students, I refuse all. However, I decided to attend a recent rally. Our agreement was that no placard would be hung for propaganda purposes and no propaganda for a certain candidate would be conducted. However, I noticed that scores of placards supporting the presidential candidacy of Kim Tae-chung were hung and several hundred people held his picture. Therefore, I was displeased and wanted to leave because the promise was not kept, but I changed my mind and stayed as I felt that if I left then, I would be considered a man with a small mind. I resolved to say what I wanted to and to seek only justice. Thus, I remained there until the meeting was over. It is true that there are some among our country's students who have excessively radical ideas, but they are only a few, and those who have forced this handful of students to become radical are none other than the current dictatorial regime. I believe that their emergence was prompted by discouragement and disappointment caused by repression and pain over a long period of time.

If I become president and a democratic government takes office, I can confidently lead this handful of students. As I mentioned earlier, I am a believer in liberal democracy. I am capable of uniting those who have even the most radical ideas into one and our democratic government would be able to handle them. When a government is formed with the people's powerful support, such a government would be very powerful.

[Hong In-kun] When we invited Kim Chong-pil, president of the NDRP, to discussion on this panel, he stated that after organizing the Council for the Promotion of Democracy, you proposed to him to fight together among the ranks of the democratic forces, but that he refused your proposal. Will you tell us if this is true. If it is, we have another suspicion, that Kim Chong-pil introduced military culture [Kunsa Munhwa] for the first time and that, moreover, he was one of the prime movers of the military coup. He also began intelligence politics for the first time by organizing the [Korean] Central Intelligence Agency [KCIA]. Then, why did you intend to drag Kim Chong-pil, who may be considered an anti-democratic figure in some aspects, into the ranks of the democratic forces?

[Kim Yong-sam] I have tried not to speak of others. [laughs] Since Mr Kim Chong-pil has already revealed the story here, I will tell you about it. I have never made such remarks. I wonder where such a rumor came from. During the dark days after I was freed from house arrest in May 1983, and no paper whatsoever had reported on my house arrest, I thought that nothing was worse than house arrest and that I would rather go to prison. If I was imprisoned, I could meet with an attorney and make a statement in court. [passage omitted]

Since the three Kims were expelled by the military regime in the eighties, I thought it would be very good if Mr Kim Tae-chung and Mr Kim Chong-pil rose in the struggle against the military government together with me. I sent a blank power of attorney to Mr Kim Tae-chung in Washington asking him to publish a joint statement on 15 August as freely as he wishes. After some time, I received his reply and issued a joint statement on 15 August even while I was being watched for 24 hours. I also contacted Mr Kim Chong-pil, asking him to join us and noting that since Kim Tae-chung and myself published a joint statement and that if Kim Chong-pil was to join, we could completely end the military rule. Therefore, I urged him to join in publishing a joint statement, noting that I did not mind the place, I would visit his home, but I did not ask him to come to my home. I made such a proposal several times. He sent a reply noting that it was not the appropriate time and that he would join at a certain time and asked me to wait a while. However, he went to the United States and his remarks ended in vain. This is the story. I did not want to disclose it, but since he did first, I have revealed the truth.

[Kang Song-ku] You have recently held large-scale mass rallies in Pusan, Taejon, and Inchon. Among the many people gathered there, there must have been those who were mobilized and those who came from other areas. To hold such rallies, you must spend much money to conduct propaganda and mobilize people. According to an unconfirmed rumor, for the Pusan mass rally, you spent perhaps 2 billion won. Where do you get such a huge amount of political funding? According to a rumor, both you and Chairman Kim Tae-chung are unable to resign the candidacy because of the large amount of political funding both of you have received. How would you define the relationship between the management of politics and political funds in making your way through reality?

[Kim Yong-sam] Well, that is not an easy question. As to the question concerning mobilizing people, I would not deny that there are cases of mobilizing people. However, it is difficult to mobilize more than 10,000 or 20,000 people. It is not that easy. There was an enormous number of people gathered in Pusan, a greater number of people than at any other meeting in the history of our country, and perhaps in the history of the world. Foreign reporters have told me that there has never been a meeting in the world, religious or political, in which such



a huge number of people gathered, adding that they consider it an honor and happiness to have witnessed such a scene. I believe this represents enormous support by the people. This was also the case in Taejon and Inchon. Both Taejon and Inchon witnessed the greatest number of people ever gathered in the rallies there. I can confidently say that the general trend of the people has changed for certain.

As for the question of money, Mr Kang Song-ku, you seem to be a rich man, why don't you give me some money. It is impossible to spend 2 billion won. In fact, we cannot afford to spend that much money. It is difficult for the opposition party to obtain political funding, as I have experienced in my political career in the opposition camp, leading the NKDP and the RDP. I may have more friends than many others, more friends in various walks of life. Many people are willing to truly help me from the bottom of their hearts. Every one of them helps me a little, from the ardent desire to have democracy realized through me. Therefore, I am using money collected from the bits of money contributed in this manner, and the money has fallen short of meeting the requirements. I hope that the audience will send us money after watching this program. [laughter] [passage omitted]

[Kum Chang-tae] There is a rumor that last year, high-level figures in the government and the ruling party secretly proposed a cabinet system to you and you, in fact, accepted it secretly. Is this true? The rumor also indicates that the mediator in the negotiations was a noted protestant minister. Is this true? Can you disclose his name?

[Kim Yong-sam] I want to clarify here that the platform of the NKDP, which I founded, included the direct presidential election system.

How can I or anyone else change the platform I included. This regime did not open exchanges with me. It has never opened exchanges with me. As I have stated, during my house arrest no one came to me. A responsible man visited me three times toward the end of May 1983 when my house arrest was about to be lifted and when I was on a hunger strike, and urged me to leave for the United States, Britain, or Japan. I have never conversed with them since. It is a pity, is it not? You already know this. After I founded the RDP, the government decided that they would not acknowledge Kim Yong-sam, that they would not engage in dialogue with the RDP or Kim Yong-sam. Therefore, they did not engage in dialogue with me. Then, all of a sudden, on 24 June, I met with President Chon Tu-hwan and I had the opportunity to talk with him for the first time. I demanded that a direct presidential election be held, and that if they did not accept it, we would hold a referendum to ask the people whether they favor a direct election system or a cabinet system. During the 3-hour conversation, I had the opportunity for the first time to raise the matter of Mr Kim Tae-chung with him. I fought with him for 80 minutes

over the issue of amnesty and reinstatement. I talked with him about the issue of Mr Kim Tae-chung who was then under house arrest. One day a Protestant minister, whose name I will decline to disclose, came to me and advised me to meet President No Tae-u in secret. I flatly rejected the idea. I insisted that we meet openly. I had proposed the meeting, tripartite talks. How could I do such a thing when the Chon Tu-hwan regime is a regime of information specialists, consisting of men who were heads of the Security Command? There was ample chance that such a secret meeting could be abused by them. No one approached me with a cabinet system. I would never have accepted it even if such a proposal had been made.

[Kang Song-ku] In your inaugural speech as RDP president in May, you stated, although the situation was different then, that "the Seoul Olympic games are a little less than putting on stage again today the 1936 Berlin Olympic games under the Nazi regime." Different from this negative view of the Seoul Olympics, last September, on the day when the invitations to the Olympic games were sent to the participating countries with the Seoul Olympics a year away, you commented, "I hope that these Olympic games will be for the people, a festivity of the people of the world in which all the people of the world participate." How could you change so much in your view of the Olympics in the 4 months between May and September?

[Kim Yong-sam] I have consistently stressed that the Olympics should not be hosted by a dictatorial regime. Before the declaration of democratization was issued, I said that the Olympic games should not be hosted by any government which seeks to prolong military rule, but should be hosted by a democratic government. I have consistently asserted that a democratic government should be established in February and that the local autonomous system should be adopted and enforced before October. Thus, the Seoul city mayor elected by the citizens should declare the Olympics open at the opening ceremony. Doing so is not only of historic significance, but also will make the Olympics a festival for the people of the world and our people. This is why I have asserted that a democratic government should be established. A bogus city mayor should not make an opening declaration. Therefore, the military dictatorial regime should not host the Olympics. Thus, I have consistently expressed my opinion. [passage omitted]

[Moderator Kang In-sop] We now conclude the questioning by the four panelists and from now on, I will read written questions collected from the audience.

The first question is: If, by any chance, the possibility of getting elected as the president in the elections is tilted toward the candidate of the ruling party in the last stage of the presidential election, would, you, President Kim, willingly withdraw your candidacy for the people?

[Kim Yong-sam] I am still concerned about fielding a single opposition candidate. I will continue to make efforts for this. However, our people and I firmly believe that fielding a single candidate will be achieved in the long run. I think that fielding a single candidate should be achieved on the strength of the people. I want the people to field a single candidate. Our people are very judicious. I have much election experience. I have assisted in elections for others. I think I am the one who has most participated in elections in our country.

I am sure that votes will gather at one side at the last stage of the election campaign. I am confident that I will not be cornered by Mr No Tae-u. Our people unanimously think that today's situation should not continue. They unanimously stress that the military rule should be brought to an end at any cost. I believe our people know to which side they should cast votes in order to put an end to the military rule. I believe that the situation will change with each passing day. I believe that such being the situation, the military rule will be brought to an end on the strength of the people.

[Kang In-sop] The second question is: You have occasionally received suspicion from the people with regard to clarity and purity in your political activities. In this connection, let me ask you one thing. At dawn of 17 May 1980 hundreds of opposition figures, including Mr Kim Tae-chung, men of the press, and students were arrested and taken away. The next day, on 18 May, the tragic Kwangju incident took place. Nevertheless, according to documents, it was on 20 May that you convened an executive committee meeting of the then New Democratic Party. What did you think and do on 18 and 19 May? Of those who were arrested and taken away at that time, there was no one belonging to the Sangdo-dong faction. What does this fact mean?

[Kim Yong-sam] As far as political clarity and purity are concerned, I believe that there is no one, among the politicians in our country, who surpass this Kim Yong-sam. Do you know why? I never accepted the demands of the military dictatorial regime. I never submitted to the military dictatorial regime. I have never accepted the demands of the Pak Chong-hui regime and the Chon Tu-hwan regime. After 17 May, they could not detain me. But, I wanted to be detained then. After the 16 May military coup, I held a rally against the military rule at the Paekcho Club in Seoul. After the rally, we staged a demonstration against the military rule. At that time, approximately 100 persons who participated in the demonstration were arrested and detained at the Sodaemun prison. I found Kim Tong-yong, vice president of our party, among the detainees. We were detained there for about 20 days. We were being referred to military trials at that time. But, they suddenly released us.

Mr Pak Chong-hui could not detain this Kim Yong-sam in 1979. Of course, they could not detain me in the eighties. Mr Pak Chong-hui decided to detain this Kim Yong-sam. But, he could not detain me. I confirmed this

from those concerned. I was dismissed from the National Assembly on 4 October 1979. This caused citizens in Pusan and Masan to rise up. They rose up in Pusan and Masan on 16 October. This was precisely the Pusan-Masan incident. Martial law was promulgated in Pusan and Masan. Two divisions were mobilized and dispatched there. But, they failed to suppress the uprising.

Without killing Pak Chong-hui, the problem could not be settled. Therefore, Pak Chong-hui was killed. If Pak Chong-hui had detained Kim Yong-sam, he would have been killed. Not one person, but many people would have been killed. He could not detain me because he was frightened by the Pusan-Masan incident. Anyway, a tragic incident took place in October 1979. If President Chon Tu-hwan had detained this Kim Yong-sam in May 1980, how would the citizens in Pusan and Masan have reacted to this? I think that if such a case had happened, Seoul citizens would have also risen up. They did not detain me because they had to maintain their regime. This was why they did not detain me.

I also called for the release of Mr Kim Tae-chung and Mr Kim Chong-pil. I tried to hold a press conference to call for their release. But, I could not hold it, because the country was under martial law. So, I tried to hold a press conference in my house. However, I was placed under house arrest. Two military police companies were deployed around my house.

As I mentioned earlier, they could not brand me a communist or an illegal wealth amasser. They could not find any grounds on which to detain me. Their step of placing me under house arrest was indeed illegal. In the end, the Chon Tu-hwan regime arrested and detained many people, all of them being members of the Reunification Democratic Party. Vice presidents Kim Tong-yong and Choe Hyong-u who are present here and many other people were detained at that time.

[Kang In-sop] Would you please tell us the truth regarding the rumors that you made concessions by accepting 300 million won at the time of the talks between yourself and the late President Pak in 1975? In the past, while serving as the president of an opposition party, you once drastically reduced your voice of struggle against the ruling party after holding talks with the late President Pak at Chongwadae. What was the topic of discussion at that time and why did you change your struggle attitude ever since?

[Kim Yong-sam] Why 300 million won? Why not 30 billion won? Thirty billion won is better than 300 million. As I have stated earlier, as a politician, my pride is to follow the path of justice sincerely and honestly. If there was a tacit agreement between President Pak and myself, why was such an all-out effort made to obstruct my becoming the president of an opposition party? Why were the director of the intelligence agency, the director general of the presidential security force, or Cha Chi-chol

and Kim Chae-kyu, all mobilized to obstruct my becoming the president of the opposition party? And after I became the president of the opposition party, why was the step of injunction taken? Legally, how could such a ridiculous step of injunction be taken against an opposition party? Even my name was written off from the namelist of the National Assemblymen. But still he was not satisfied. But he could not arrest me, because he feared that he would fall, if I was arrested. So he detained Kim Tok-yong, my chief secretary at that time. And my chief secretary was not released until he [President Pak] was killed. So, if there was a tacit agreement between Mr Pak Chong-hui and myself, how could Mr Pak Chong-hui suppress me like that? This was impossible. [passage omitted]

**PPD's Kim Tae-chung**

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[Report of 30 October panel discussion with Kim Tae-chung, chairman of the preparatory committee to found the Party for Peace and Democracy, [PPD] by Kim Tae-chung, editorial writer of CHOSON ILBO; Kim Kyong-chol, editorial writer of CHUNGANG ILBO; Chang Myong-su, deputy bureau chief of HANGUK ILBO; and Pak Song-pom, deputy director of the Korea Broadcasting System [KBS] News Department, under the sponsorship of the Kwanhun Club at the Korean Press Club; questioners identified by captions—video-taped]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Panelist Kim Tae-chung] Personally, I feel deep emotions at being here tonight. When you challenged the presidency in 1971, I covered your activities as a reporter in charge of the opposition party. I no longer work in the field, but now work as an editorial writer. However, our Chairman Kim was and is a presidential candidate. I feel that you have consistently sought a single goal for the past 16 years. In particular, you do not look different from then though a long time has passed. Rather, you look as if you are getting younger.

However, what I want to raise is the problem of consistency which seems to be the biggest obstacle to creating your image. In other words, many people point out that you have been inconsistent in your remarks, thoughts, political views, and opinions on other views. For example, you have failed to keep two big promises, regardless of what reason you may have and in what situation you may have been placed. One is your promise not to run for the presidency and the other is the promise to achieve a single candidacy.

Also, with regard to policies, your view on the direct presidential election system has considerably changed with the passage of time. I think that you strongly opposed the Olympics at first, but you seem to have changed your stand toward them later. In addition, our

reporters have many records showing that your evaluation and judgment of the 12 February general election have considerably changed. For this reason, many people express their suspicion of your consistency. What answer can you give to this question?

[Kim Tae-chung] I am sorry to say this, but my view is a little different from yours. I have never changed my stand toward the Olympics, the 12 February election, and the direct presidential election system. In connection with the declaration of not running for presidency, I stated that I would not run if Mr Chon Tu-hwan accepted the direct presidential election system and stopped the suppression of students involved in the Konguk University incident by branding them as pro-communists. However, the other side immediately refused my demand. For this reason, I do not think that I broke the promise. People vary in their opinions on these small issues.

I think that whether a politician has truly kept his words can be determined by whether he has fulfilled his basic lines he announced to the people. I am convinced that I have kept my words. Over the past 30 years, I have unyieldingly kept, sometimes at the risk of my life, my promise to oppose dictatorship and devote myself to democracy. Also, I have consistently maintained the policy of serving for the promotion of rights and living standards of workers, farmers, the working masses, and the middle class and have adhered to my assertions based on my own theories. I have consistently pushed ahead with the policy of preserving peace between the North and South, of achieving national reunification, and of devoting myself to this cause while even suffering from suspicion and slander for my ideology. Over the past 30 years, I have tried to take an honest and sincere attitude toward these basic problems. I think that not only I but also others can inevitably change an attitude according to changes in the situation and on the basis of judgment. If there is any misunderstanding regarding this, frankly speaking, it is attributable first to a lack of virtue and next to this regime's vicious slander.

[Chang Myong-su] Let me ask a supplementary question on what has recently been observed in connection with the problem of consistency. The general populace feels that the lines and policies you express when you speak to a general audience and to students are very much different in terms of tone. Also, we sense that there is a difference between the speeches you give before workers and the speeches you give before small and medium-size businessmen. To whom do you feel you can convey a message closest to what you believe?

[Kim] In my opinion we can speak differently to different listeners as long as the basic principles are the same. Buddha once taught that a sermon should be delivered differently to different people. I believe that expression can be different according to the strata and fields on which attention is brought.



For example, I told students: We can criticize the United States and its policy, but we should not consider it our enemy because this contradicts our national interests. I believe that only a society of justice can defeat communism. Basically, I am opposed to communism and support strong security. We should not resort to violence for whatever cause. Also, such an assertion or way of reunification as benefits communism cannot be tolerated.

As you remember in connection with these principles, I opposed a radical and procommunist statement issued last April by the National Coalition for the Movement for Democracy. Who besides me has talked openly about the three-point cause of objecting to violence, communism, and anti-Americanism? As a result, I have been bitterly blamed for this by students and workers. Since I believe that doing so is for their sake and for the sake of the country, I have consistently adhered to my stance. I am convinced that I have maintained consistently the stand of honoring principle. I have upheld the principle of promoting reunification in the direction of defending democracy, opposing communism, objecting to fratricide, and not benefiting communism. Also, I have adhered to the principle of guaranteeing the rights of the people for survival. Whenever I have met with students, I have told them that I am neither a socialist nor social democrat because I support a free economy.

It is very regrettable if there is some misunderstanding about me in this regard. However, if you recall what I have asserted so far, I am sure you will come to the conclusion that I was right.

[Pak Song-pom] Because it seems relevant to the issue of consistency and working out your future foreign policy, I am asking you this additional question. When you met with your student supporters last 27 October, you laid particular stress on neither pro-Americanism nor anti-Americanism, but on independent diplomacy toward the United States. Since you spent most of your two periods of exile in the United States, many people believe that the United States has helped you considerably. However, in the speech delivered to students last 27 October, you uttered something that can be interpreted as distancing yourself from the United States. During your exile in the United States, you reportedly urged those in and out of the U.S. Administration to pressure Korea toward democratization, even if it meant cutting military and economic assistance to Korea. However, during your talk with the students on 27 October, you said something different. Does this mean that you have shifted your opinion, that outside intervention, even well intentioned intervention, should not be accommodated, or that you simply laid down a strategy for your supporters? I hope you will answer this.

[Kim Tae-chung] I believe I am lucky to be here this evening because I can clarify such misunderstandings about me over the course of this panel discussion. In fact, when I was in the United States, I never claimed at all that the United States should suspend military aid or the

like. This was a fabrication by the government's intelligence organizations. I have never said any such thing. I never called on the United States to use the security of South Korea as a means to pressure South Korea to push ahead with democratization. Rather, I opposed U.S. use of it to pressure for democratization. While delivering speeches before our compatriots living in the United States, I told them that there was no need for them to be pro-U.S. or anti-U.S. I am willing to bear this out with videotapes, which I will show you any time you want.

Our relationship with the United States is in our national interest. The U.S. presence here in South Korea is also in its national interest. The U.S. Government has never said that the U.S. presence here is only in the national interest of South Korea. It has said that the U.S. presence here is in the interest of the United States. We have cooperated with the United States in our national interest. In other words, we have treated the United States as a friendly country in our national interest. Therefore, if the United States supports dictatorial politics in our country or excessively asks our country to open its markets, we should, if necessary, criticize and struggle with such U.S. policies on a case by case basis. However, among such remarks, I have mentioned and emphasized many, many times that as long as a communist regime exists in North Korea and as long as that regime is supported by China and the Soviet Union, we must not make the United States and Japan our enemies. Therefore, I believe that what you have said in your question about my remarks in the United States was misquoted. Anyway, I thank you for your question.

[Panelist Kim Tae-chung] In February 1973, when you were living in exile in the United States, opposing the yusin system, in the column "Affairs" in *The New York Times*, you clearly wrote under your name that the United States should consider halting military assistance to South Korea to apply political pressure. There is no question about this.

[Kim Tae-chung] I have never written such an article. Never.

[Kim Kyong-chol] Let me ask you about an economic problem. In articles, in your books, and in speeches expressing your official stand, you have stressed time and again: I support the free economic system. Recently, you stressed: I am a moderate reformist. Thus, you have expressed your basic attitude toward the economy. Nevertheless, some people tend not only to not take this at its face value, but have gone so far as to say that economically you are not a conservative, but a reformist, and that if you take office there will be many changes in economic policy. Other people say that if you take office, business work and enterprise management will become more difficult. Would you comment on this?

[Kim Tae-chung] Hitler once said that repeated lies become facts. In other words, for 15 years this regime has constantly perpetrated all manner of defamation and

slander against me, while keeping me gagged. This is why such problems have occurred. I have written many articles on the economy. I spoke of economic problems many times in the National Assembly in the past, at plenary sessions and subcommittee sessions. However, I have never regarded our enterprises with hostility nor have I asserted a socialist economy. I have asserted quite the opposite. Nevertheless, such misunderstandings have emerged around me. I do not and will not regard businessmen with hostility. I believe that I should liberate businessmen from being dominated by power in their business activities. A businessman failed to let his son run for national assemblyman. In the case of a tycoon, his business went completely bankrupt within a month without revealing the reason and was disorganized by power. These are precisely today's reality. Therefore, standing on the side of businessmen, I will help them to carry out their businesses in a free atmosphere.

However, the assertion that if I take office, businessmen will face difficulties, is true in a sense. Such business activities as seeking monopolistic economic privileges and benefits in collusion with power, while ignoring the interests of small and medium-sized enterprises and the people, will be impossible in the future. These businessmen will find difficulty in operating their enterprises.

If I take office, those honest businessmen who render the utmost service to the people and who sell commodities of the highest quality at the lowest prices and those enterprises that have a high competitive international potential and that pay just wages to the workers will surely be able to conduct most brisk and successful business activities.

[Chang Myong-su] Chairman Kim, you have said that you will not partake in political retaliation, that although the dictatorial system itself cannot be tolerated, those involved in it should be tolerated, and that it was not wrong that we did not send pro-Japanese elements to prisons after national liberation, but what was wrong was that these pro-Japanese elements were put into government posts. Does this mean that if you are elected president you will not consider taking legal steps in settling the Kwangju incident? Do you think this accords with general social justice? Would you say something on this?

[Kim Tae-chung] This is a good question. Instead of answering it here, let me recall the remarks I made on 18 September before the bereaved families of victims of the Kwangju incident when I visited the Mangwol-dong Cemetery in Kwangju. At that time, I stressed that the Kwangju incident should be resolved; that the facts should be revealed to an extent acceptable to the people, to those concerned with the incident, including the bereaved families, and to the victims; that their honor should be recovered; that just and maximum compensation should be paid to the bereaved families and the wounded citizens both materially and mentally; and that, in particular, democracy should be achieved as was

urgently aspired to by the fallen victims. Then I stressed that, although we can by no means tolerate the dictatorial regime, we should forgive the dictator from the viewpoint of humanitarianism and to prevent political chaos in the future and achieve national harmony. Toward this end, to my surprise, the citizens gathered there gave thunderous applause. I was deeply moved by this.

You mentioned social justice earlier. Social justice cannot find its true meaning when evil is tolerated. If we tolerate the dictator regime, the dictatorial system, and the dictatorial laws and practices, and if we tolerate them using the excuse that political retaliation will not be enforced, this runs precisely counter to social justice.

However, men commit crimes. At the same time, they also do good. We do not hate men, but their crimes. From the viewpoint of religion, all of us are the sons of God. From the humanitarian viewpoint, all of us have human rights. Therefore, I believe that we should forgive those who have committed crimes and encourage them to reflect on and repent of their crimes and to participate in a new democratic society. I believe that tolerance will bring about success and national harmony.

[Panelist Kim Tae-chung] I have no choice but to raise a hard question again. Chairman Kim, you espouse moderate reformism. However, your remarks on the introduction of an affluence tax system as well as on the total writing off of farm debts and a masses' view of history make it possible for you to claim to speak for the position of activists and dissidents relatively more than any other prospective candidate. Chairman Kim, you also suggest from time to time that you intend to make workers and students the base of your support.

You also say that the PPD is a party to serve the low-income bracket, the working masses and isolated circles and, thus, it is a different political party from the RDP and other parties. It is fully understandable that that is the will and intention of Chairman Kim and other participants in the new party. However, according to what is shown by the composition of the party, at least, we do not believe that the PPD looks like a moderate and reformist party. In other words, it only took a part of the existing force; and when it comes to the question of whether the party, while claiming to be a new, different party, really has a new input, I think that we have no choice but to believe it is in words only. At least, at present those participating in the new party, in our eyes, do not look particularly different in color from RDP members. Therefore, we may agree that you are moderates but we can hardly agree that you are reformists. So, are you or are you not prepared to take this opportunity to absorb progressive forces and students on a broad basis and make a new start as a reformist party both in name and substance?



[Kim Tae-chung] That is a very tough question and I think it appears to be a dangerous question if I give a wrong answer. [laughter] In the beginning you talked about farm debts. Originally it was the NKDP which advocated the writing off of farm debts. I only learned it from the NKDP and followed suit. But you talk as if it were my original idea and as if I were the only one advocating it. I do not understand why it sounds like that when I say something. The so-called masses' view of history is not a proletarian class view of history because it is a view of history from the position of the popular masses. The word masses is not a leftist term as you can see from the fact that until some time ago it was possible to call the police the masses' stick.

Besides, I have no remarkable knowledge of history even if you talk about a particular view of history. I made this clear to students before. That is, economically I support a free economy. Therefore, since I do not support a planned economy as aspired to by reformist parties, and since economically I am a free economist, although I strongly back social justice advocated by reformist parties and social democrats, I am not a reformist. In the aspect of social justice, too, I call for justice within the scope of not impairing the stability and wholesome development of the economy. Put simply, I do not call for one which is like a reckless social insurance system, which goes beyond the capability of the state economy like the one in practice in Britain. The reason why I do not engage in a reformist party is because of that basic viewpoint of mine. Trade unions and other organizations support me. Taking a look at why they support me, they say that, although they do not like every candidate, they support me because I appear to be most interested in their problems. Thus they say that they support me while being critical of me. I think that this is an appropriate expression. Therefore, I assure you that I have no intention of engaging in a reformist party. [passage omitted]

[Pak Song-pom] It appears that of the four presidential candidates, Chairman Kim, you talk most and most frequently about the unification issue. Since we have had many opportunities to hear about the content of your confederal republic system, I will not go into it here. But could you explain why you use a terminology which is apt to be misunderstood—a Koryo confederal system, which is used by the North Koreans? Could you also explain the background and substance of the arguments for turning the Korean peninsula into a nuclear-free zone, disarmament, and the consolidation of a peaceful structure between the North and South of Korea?

[Kim Tae-chung] As a matter of fact, it is not that the term confederation was used first by the communists in the North. I used it first in 1973 while I was in Japan. But, far earlier than us, the United States has had a federal system in force for more than 200 years and, as seen in the Australian federation, the Canadian federation and the West German federation, the originator of the confederal system is Western Europe, not the North.

In content, the North's proposal also differs from the confederation I propose. The confederation I propose is something like a sort of consultative organization, represented by the two independent governments in the North and South and with strictly limited authorities. In comparison, the North's confederation calls for vesting the diplomatic and military rights in the confederal government. In simple terms, it calls for turning the People's Army and the National Armed Forces into one body. It then calls for making the two governments local governments. So, it is totally different. This notwithstanding, everyone misunderstands my proposal and even carries on false propaganda, taking issue with only the word confederation without carefully scrutinizing its content. As I have already declared, despite the fact that it is not my original intention and although it is a term used in the United States, Canada and all other countries, and although I used the term after consulting with Professor Reischauer of the United States and other distinguished scholars, if the term has room for such public misunderstanding, I will not use it. I have announced so.

Regarding the arguments about a nuclear-free zone and disarmament, I have not talked about them, but it is true that they surfaced in the RDP's policies. Frankly, since I do not know about the present security situation of our country, I will reserve my opinion on this nuclear arms issue and, if I take power, I think that I will have to determine it after fully examining the security situation and its necessity. I also think that disarmament is impossible at least until a North-South peace system has been established. [passage omitted]

[Kim Kyong-chol] Chairman Kim, you seem to be very satisfied and proud that your supporters are from the low-income bracket below the middle class. If that is the case, I think that, if you happen to rise to power, you will have to give a considerable amount of compensation to the low-income bracket for their support. I also think that there are a lot of people around you with whom you have been sharing woes and weals together. Economically, socially, and politically they are in a difficult situation and, when, Chairman Kim, you seize power, they are sure to demand one form of compensation or another. It is also possible that there are a considerable number of businesses which were subjected to economic blows and difficulties, implicated with you in the past in one way or another. Some hold the view that, if you rise to power, it will be possible that you will manage the economy to wreak their grudges. Could you please tell us what your answer to them is?

[Kim Tae-chung] You talked about a political party taking root in the middle classes and working masses. According to a recent survey conducted by the social science institute of a certain national university, 83% of our people say that they have no political party to speak for their interests. This, I think, is a very important matter. A political party cannot speak for the interest of all strata. So the PPD aspires to be a party that speaks for

the interest of the middle classes and working masses, and that is my creed. I think that other people speak for other circles. This is what I think.

Regarding the question of what I will do with the demands of those who shared woes and weals and with the demands of workers, I will introduce a very good example for your reference. President Alfonsín in South America—a gentleman who became president with the support of the strata I just mentioned. After becoming president, he found that the economy would be ruined if he accepted all of their excessive demands. So he persuaded his supporters, meeting their demands at an appropriate level—that is, he made readjustment through persuasion. Consequently, the Argentine economy revived from the verge of bankruptcy and inflation, which was once as high as 300-500%, is now at a 10% level. Thus Argentina is now enjoying global credit.

Therefore, I think that, since I have ties with people of those circles, I can satisfy their legitimate demands and, if their demands are impossible in view of our economy, I can persuade and readjust within the framework of their support and confidence. In this regard, even though it may be presumptuous of me, I think that I may be able to do something, which others could not do, and contribute to our economic and social stability. [passage omitted]

[Kim Kyong-chol] Chairman Kim, have you read the book *24 Hours at Tonggyo-dong* [street where Kim Tae-chung lives], which concerns you?

[Kim Tae-chung] I have not read it.

[Kim Kyong-chol] I ask this question because from what I have heard from opposition assemblymen Chairman Kim Tae-chung is by no means a warm-hearted person. I hope that you will frankly talk about your human nature or character including that kind of question.

[Kim Tae-chung] The book *24 Hours at Tonggyo-dong* only borrowed the name of my former bodyguard. It was authored by the Agency for National Security Planning [NSP]. I have all the evidence to prove that it was written by the NSP and I know the author's name, too. Time will come sooner or later when you find out about it. And the story about my driver is entirely a lie.

It is not true that the driver died after having served me for 20 years. He quit after the revitalizing reform and, after having another job for 7-8 years, he became ill and died. Really I should not speak about this kind of thing but, since it was brought out, I have no choice. Nowadays, even at the last Chusok [Harvest Moon] festival season, I send some money to his family. That driver is not the only person I give money to. Another driver, who was my wife's driver, also died. I help family members of people like him find jobs and they still visit me. There is not a single person like that. What is written in *24 Hours*

at *Tonggyo-dong* is an imaginary fabrication. If those people specifically give names and show evidence, it will be revealed that they are lies. [passage omitted]

[Pak Song-pom] Chairman Kim, since 1980 you have been maintaining that the Tonghak Disturbance [1894 Peasants Revolt], the 1 March Independence Movement [1919], 15 August Liberation [1945], and 19 April Incident [1960] should be reevaluated in light of the masses' resistance history. We also understand that you some time ago maintained that Chong Mong-chu [statesman and scholar of the Koryo dynasty], Yi Song-gye [founder of the Yi dynasty], and even Shi Huang Ti of China should be reexamined with an outlook of the masses' history. You appraised that history after liberation is no more than an extension of imperial Japan because pro-Japanese elements were not removed. If this is the case, is it not similar to the method of reevaluating historical figures used during the Cultural Revolution in communist China? In simple terms how do you summarize the masses' resistance in most modern history from the outlook of the masses' history?

[Kim Tae-chung] I do not have so much knowledge as to talk about the masses' view of history. The last time reporters covered my view of history, they covered it a little inaccurately. I reportedly said that based on the masses' view of history, I would reevaluate Chong Mong-chu and Shih Huang Ti. A certain newspaper said, "It is shameful for a politician to say such a thing." That paper is right. How can a politician fumble with history and historical views freely with politics or the law? When I talked about it, I used various terms, sometimes calling it the masses, the populace, or the people. They are after all, all like. I said that, from the position of the populace, there are such and such views. Regarding questions concerning Shih Huang Ti, for instance, it was not the historical view of the Cultural Revolution. Toynbee, the renowned Western historian, highly appraised in his book the role played by Shih Huang Ti. I only introduced that day that there is such a historical theory. I would like to take this opportunity to clarify once more that it is absolutely untrue that I made some sort of historical evaluation or that I want to rewrite history about Mr Chong Mong-chu.

[Panelist Kim Tae-chung] Listening to what Chairman Kim says, we get the impression that we journalists are not working properly. We feel you are rebuking whether we can even dictate properly or understand your speech properly. [laughter] Although this is my personal view, I have a lot to think about, Chairman Kim, concerning the fact that we cannot fulfill our active journalistic functions when you are suffering and agonizing in the past. From that viewpoint, when you openly criticize the function performed by journalism today, we feel that there are some areas in which we agree with you and sometimes other areas in which we do not agree with you.

I refer to your remarks at Hungsadan [organization of independence fighters] on reports about the faction of Kwangju people and your statement about Yi Hu-rak's testimony published in two monthly magazines. I believe that fellow journalists share my feeling that, even if we search our souls, they were not made under someone's pressure. So when you openly state that you have no freedom of speech, what do you mean by freedom of speech and do you still think that you have no freedom of speech?

[Kim Tae-chung] I hope that you will understand it this way: Anyone—whichever it may be—would not speak about something good written about him or something not too unfair about him; but he would speak about something unfair to him. Is it not true that is why journalists and news sources are a little dissatisfied with each other? However, over that course, the two deepen mutual understanding and the freedom of speech is further promoted. The press can criticize us and, when we have complaints, we can talk about them. I believe that in this way we can further deepen and develop mutual understanding. I hope that you will understand it that way.

[Chang Myong-su] If you should lose in the coming election, would you think that the biggest reason would be the failure to put up a single opposition candidate? If you should lose in the election, would you challenge again in the next election?

[Kim Tae-chung] Since I have never thought about losing the election, I am not prepared to answer that question. [laughter] This is the prospect for the election I have: In view of past voting trends, votes will not be scattered. I believe that, after all, the people will concentrate their ballots on either the government or the opposition, or the two opposition candidates, that they will not scatter their votes. This has been the case in all past presidential elections. In 1971 when I competed with President Pak Chong-hui, for instance, aside from whether it was a fair election or not, the total votes garnered by both President Pak Chong-hui and me amounted to 99%. The remaining ballots, obtained by three others including Mr Pak Ki-chul, accounted for less than 1%.

In the current election, as well, if necessary, the force of the opposition may be unified by the people's power and pressure. To cite an example, it will be like the case of Yun Po-song and Ho Chong in 1963 or the people will make that decision by concentrating their votes on the two opposition candidates. Something else I think about is that candidate No Tae-u enjoys the backing of power, monopolizes election campaign funds, is spotlighted by many news media, and has a huge organization. Therefore, he cannot be disregarded, but I do not think that our people, who do not yield even before guns and bayonets, will support him, particularly in view of the fact that Chon Tu-hwan equals No Tae-u, I cannot imagine that they will support him; he went back on his

word by not properly carrying out the eight items of his declaration. Therefore, if the election is held normally, I believe that candidate No Tae-u's election is impossible. Only when irregularities are carried out will his election be possible; in that case, there will be a big problem. That is how I think.

[Kim Kyong-chol] You have stated that you have never even thought of failing to win in the election. Let me put it this way. You can lose the election. You have failed to agree on which of you will run for president representing the opposition. The majority of the people believe that if you could have been able to field a single candidate, his victory in the election would be a foregone conclusion. Now that you have failed to do so. In the wake of the split of your party, people ponder whether democratization, an opportunity our people have won the hard way to put an end to military rule, would not be wasted. They say: If this happens, the two Kims will have to take responsibility for it. Not only will they have to leave politics once and for all, but they will also have to give up the idea of running for the presidential office. I only hope that there exists such public opinion. What do you say about this?

[Kim Tae-chung] I know the existence of such public opinion. A considerable number of people are also putting enormous pressure on me to run for the presidency without yielding to anyone else. Frankly speaking, running for the presidency is not very tempting to me. Never before have I been so agonized and so ashamed of myself. Never before have I been so wide awake at 2 or 3 in the morning as nowadays. Now, I am not in a position to resist the support of the people—of course, not all the people support me. Do you recall the number of people who gathered on the campus at Korea University? It was not a small number. I think you have seen such an enormous number of people several times since then. I have no way of resisting such pressure. You said that if I lose the election this time, it will result in the end of my political career. If I refuse the pressure, not only will I terminate my political career myself, but I will never be condoned even by the people who have supported me as a human being.

Regardless of their support for me, I am convinced that I will emerge from this forthcoming election the winner. You will be sure of this upon seeing how the election is being held. This is not barking from a distance. However, if it becomes clear that neither President Kim Yong-sam nor I had a chance of winning the election and a candidate representing the military dictatorship appeared to be winning, both of us would have to make a certain kind of decision, as demanded by the people who wanted us to field a single candidate. This is a decision I think I will make when it becomes absolutely clear that we will lose and the candidate supported by the military dictatorship appears to be winning without fail. This being the case, I believe there is no need to rush to make a decision on one's own and we should watch to see how the situation changes instead.



[Panelist Kim Tae-chung] You have painted a picture of the two of you reaching agreement on which of you will run for the presidency at the last minute. However I see only you in the picture. The picture has no Kim Yong-sam in it. Let me ask you again. Is there a possibility of you making a concession to the other Kim at the last minute?

[Kim Tae-chung] Of course, both of us will have to be prepared for such a concession as demanded by the people.

[Pak Song-pom] You have stated that you have never thought of losing the election. Who do you find the most difficult to compete with among the other three, provided that the four of you all run?

[Kim Tae-chung] It is a very difficult question. Without seeing the progress on the election, it is hard to tell. In terms of public support, however, I find in Candidate Kim Yong-sam a difficult man to compete with. In terms of the premium attached to the ruling party of the military regime, Candidate No must be reckoned with. This being the case, I am keenly watching and analyzing the situation. [passage omitted]

[Pak Song-pom] You stated in an interview with a daily that "democracy and unification are in the relationship of the palm and the back of a hand." Democracy comes first and then comes unification. Unification without democracy is romantic escapism. In what manner will you link policy on unification to democracy?

[Kim Tae-chung] Let me thank you for asking me such an important question and for letting me answer it. Democracy is the only way to overcome communism. No democratic country in the world has ever been communized, and no military dictatorship has ever prevailed over communism. It is our belief, therefore, that when democracy is instituted in our country, the political situation will become so stabilized and the security posture so firm thanks to the people's voluntary support that the communists would find it impossible to communize the ROK. I believe that our country will enjoy stability and security if we manage to institute democracy this time. If this happens, the state of truce between the South and the North as now exists will be terminated and replaced with a peace system; that this will be carried out amid close cooperation enlisted from the United States and Japan as well as the four other major UN member states; this will lead to lasting peace and in turn lead to a stage of peaceful exchange based on the lasting peace, then by jumping from the stage of peaceful coexistence, to the stage of exchange, to the stage of restoring national homogeneity, and based on this, to paving the way to unification. This far the next government can undertake, and the next stage will have to be accomplished by the following government.

[Panelist Kim Tae-chung] Many people know well what kind of views you hold regarding the military. It would be beneficial to national development and the political situation, as well, if the military, the largest single organizational force and the best trained in the ROK, and you could improve your mutual relations. What I mean is that there are always thorns couched in your reference to the military and the military also couches still bigger thorns in its references to you. Do you have any intention of inviting the military leaders to iron out the differences between you without reserve?

[Kim Tae-chung] Provided that they are willing, I will do it tomorrow. Once I tried to visit an army general hospital and when I informed the hospital authorities of my plan, they welcomed it and approved of it, saying that I can come any time I choose. However, they later changed the earlier decision and did not welcome my visit. I was not able to pay a visit to the hospital, not because I did not want to. Lately, in my speeches I always suggest to the people to encourage, by applauding, the soldiers, the absolute majority of whom are patriotic soldiers who remain loyal to national defense while pledging to stay out of politics and devoting themselves to security, and to the soldiers who are involved in politics to change their minds, in the belief that we can cooperate with each other without discriminating against anybody else if they remain loyal to their duty of defending the country. One thing that I want to make clear in this regard is that the military should never meddle in the choice of presidential candidate under any circumstances. This is because only the people, not the military, can do it. This is the basic ground on which we must stand firm and which we cannot yield to anyone else. I respect the military. I love the military. I have always been willing to help the military carry out their duty of national defense. Such charges as that I tried to cut the military budget or that I opposed military assistance from a foreign country are all fabrications. I have always maintained that neutrality by the military and democracy are the only true road for the military, as well as the country. For example, when Alfonsin declared his candidacy for president in Argentina, the military said all but Alfonsin could run. Upon this development, his supporters rebutted: Only the people have the right to veto him. Why does the military interfere in this matter? Alfonsin won the election. He has managed to keep the military under his command and stabilize the political situation. I can boastfully say that I attach no less value to national defense and the duty borne by the soldiers than anyone else. However, I am doggedly against intervention in politics by the military. What I am saying is that if any soldier wants to be involved in politics, he should do it after taking off the military uniform and becoming a civilian. If soldiers come to power in their uniforms by suppressing the people with weapons provided with taxpayers' money, and then take off their uniforms, they are not civilians. A regime run by such people is no longer a civilian regime, even though those

who run it have taken off their military uniforms. It is still a military regime. This is why we do not recognize President Chon Tu-hwan or Mr No Tae-u as legitimate civilian politicians.

[Pak Song-pom] When you returned home from exile in the United States in 1985, you arrived at Kimpo airport accompanied by a group of former and then in office U.S. politicians. It seemed contradictory to what you always opposed and hated—flunkeyism.

[Kim Tae-chung] All the news organizations in the United States noisily clamored about the possibility of my homecoming resulting in exactly the same thing that befell Aquino. The Americans very much regretted that they had not taken precautions in sending Aquino, thereby causing his death, calling it a bungle. Those who came with me did so at their own expense. Determined as they were to accompany me, I could not keep them from doing what they pleased. I thought: I would be flunkeyist if I follow them. However if politicians from the strongest country in the world accompany me, I would not be called flunkeyist. In a way, our people will see in it something different, something fresh. That was why I allowed them to come along with me. I want you to understand it this way.

[Kim Kyong-chol] As we remember it well, our economy has gone through great difficulty because of the labor strife last summer. In spite of this, businessmen predict that our country's economy is destined to go through more such difficulty next spring and express their concern about it. If such a thing does not materialize, we could desire nothing more. However, if this is ordained for us, we have to go through it again. What measures can be taken to cope with it?

[Kim Tae-chung] It is a very serious question. As we have seen in the past, things do not necessarily come true or turn out as predicted. For example, last August, we heard a lot about crisis in the months of September and October. The crises have not come. At the time, many people predicted that in the new semester in September, the students would unite with the workers to stage a revolutionary struggle. The so-called united struggle of students and workers did not materialize. The absolute majority of workers and students say in a unanimous voice: All we want is democratization. So, see to it that the elections are held in a fair manner. Is there a more modest voice than this? More often than not, the government brands such students as left-leaning, pro-communist elements. Yesterday, I stayed away from the student gathering at Konguk University in which the police arrested 1,250 students last year by charging them as communists, not left-leaning or procommunist elements. They all came out of prison. I mean they had all been released by the government. Does this mean that the current regime is a procommunist regime? This shows that the current regime preposterously exaggerates things in this manner and puts anticommunism to bad use.

According to an economist I have consulted with, workers probably will raise their voices to demand something more next spring when a new, democratic government is established. I believe that their demands next spring will not be very different from those we heard last summer, that is to say, they will demand that trade unions dominated by those favored by the owner resign or that the owner pay them appropriate wages—demands that even the president of the ruling party endorsed as legitimate. I believe their demands next spring will not go beyond what is regarded as reasonable. This time, however, they will express their opinions in stronger voices than before, as there will be a new democratic government behind them. This being the case, if the president in office then is a man trusted by the workers, a person who shares weal and woe with the workers, a president who is supported and trusted by the people, he can solve such labor problems with relative ease amid stability. Only such a person can coordinate excessive demands, I believe. [passage omitted]

[Moderator reads written questions collected from audience] In connection with the issue of a single presidential candidate, you stated that a scramble for the presidential office by four competitors is worth attempting. Do you mean you are convinced of your triumph? If this is true, I wonder whether you have not prepared for such a situation in which one No and three Kims will fight each other from the beginning. Have you not? Toward this end, you seem to have persuaded President Kim Yong-sam, who favored a parliamentary cabinet system, to accept the idea of a direct presidential election system; then you achieved democratization by struggling along with him; and now that you have achieved what you pined for, you deliberately failed to keep your word on a single presidential candidate for the four-party competition, have you not? Who do you think is more responsible for the failure in fielding a single candidate, you or President Kim?

[Kim Tae-chung] I know you have given serious thought to this question. It is true that we both have exerted efforts to achieve fielding a single candidate. I am not inclined to tell you who is more responsible and who is less responsible for the failure in fielding a single candidate. One thing I can assure you is that the situation developed up to date was never deliberately intended. If we had planned it all, we would not have advanced my idea of not breaking up the party by running for the presidency without being nominated by the party and run on our own, a relatively abnormal idea advanced out of consideration to keep the party unbroken. I never intended it.

A considerable number of sectors among the people pressured me to run for the presidency, which was hard to refuse. In addition, the sectors that have devoted themselves to democratization of the country and that made absolute contributions to bringing about democratization out in the cold and lent positive support to me,

which I do not deserve, how can I thank them? Moreover, what played a decisive role in persuading me to run for the presidency was President Kim Yong-sam's remarks that he could not concede to me even if he wanted to because the military does not support me and that although he had earlier promised to back me because I am older than him and that if civilian rights are restored for me and amnesty is given to me, he still could not yield to me because the military does not support me.

In this context, he was decisively different from me. Because I thought this was a major crossroads in determining whether to follow a road to democracy or not, I decided that I could never make a concession to him whatever may come. Moreover, this was not something his side made once or twice inadvertently, but what it had consistently referred to, through August to September even through October. I thought: There exists our big difference. This is what has happened to date. At any rate, I am very sorry for having, ultimately, failed to field a single candidate. [passage omitted]

**NDRP's Kim Chong-pil**

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[Report on 3 November panel discussion with Kim Chong-pil, president of the New Democratic Republican Party NDRP, by Kim Kyong-chol, CHUNGANG ILBO editorial writer; Pak Song-pom, deputy chief of the KBS News Center; Kim Tae-chung, CHOSON ILBO editorial writer; and Chang Myong-su, HANGUK ILBO deputy director, under the sponsorship of the Kwanhun Club at the Korean Press Center; panelists identified by captions—videotaped]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Kim Kyong-chol] What do you think are your chances of winning in the presidential election? You once said that you would say what you wanted to say by running for the presidency even if you were only to win one vote. In view of what you said, we feel you are determined to gain revenge for a grudge that you have by taking advantage of this opportunity, rather than to compete for power. In this sense, the people can point out that it is difficult to understand running for the presidency to wreak a grudge. Will you talk about this?

[Kim Chong-pil] Few people may challenge the top post to wreak a grudge. I also do not challenge it for that purpose. From a humanitarian viewpoint, it would be a lie to say that there was no such intention of satisfying a grudge. I am running in the election out of my persistent determination that I must do so. I said that I will run in the election even though I may get only my wife's vote. This was a joke.

[Kim Kyong-chol] What do you think are your chances of winning the election?

[Kim Chong-pil] Suppose one says that he is sure of getting a certain number of votes from certain classes. This is a statement that looks down upon the people. I only hope to receive the people's judgment after making my utmost efforts. In my personal opinion, it would be wonderful to receive a wide range of support from the people of all strata. Arbitrarily talking about a chance of winning the election is an act of mocking the people. I have not thought of the question. I will show the people what I have and hope to be their choice.

[Pak Song-pom] Many people view the forthcoming elections as a showdown between the opposition camp, which has waged the struggle for democratization, and the DJP, the ruling party which has decided to accept the people's desire for democratization—an election for the people's judgment. You, President Kim, have stated that you are running in the election to obtain judgment for what you did in the past. What is your opinion on this question? Do you plan to campaign to the end or drop out of the race in the middle of the campaign, depending upon how the race develops?

[Kim Chong-pil] We exerted our utmost efforts to consolidate the foundation of political modernization during the 18 years of our rule until 1980. During this process, irrespective of whether we intended to or not, we caused the people much difficulty. In 1980, therefore, we were determined to receive the people's stern judgment of what we had done and to have a chance to serve them by being their choice. However, our will was blocked by the 17 May forces. There may be an opinion that the forthcoming election is a showdown between those forces who seek democratization and the 17 May forces. But I do not agree with it. I cannot understand why the 17 May incident occurred. Also, the 17 May forces have put an end to their existence in the 29 June declaration which they are taking advantage of to find a ground for their existence. Therefore, I think that now when the situation has returned to that of 1980, a showdown between those in the DRP and those in the current opposition party is a right confrontation. Thus, I have decided to run for the presidency and will sincerely expect the people's choice to the end. [passage omitted]

[Pak Song-pom] I understand that your remarks about the judgment of the 18-year rule of the DRP means the judgment of not only economic achievements but also other things in general. You, President Kim, have stated that the constitutional revision for the third term of presidency and the yusin system during the DRP regime had nothing to do with your will and that you just followed President Pak's decision. Do you mean by this that the object of judgment is politician Kim Chong-pil, who had different views from President Pak, and not the 18-year rule of the DRP?

[Kim Chong-pil] We have differing opinions. Obviously, I objected to the constitutional revision providing for the third term of presidency. Also, I opposed the yusin system. Proceeding from my judgment that President



Pak showed leadership in banishing absolute poverty in the sixties and he was able to achieve industrialization in the seventies, I changed my mind and did my best to help him. Therefore, it does not matter whether I opposed the constitutional revision and the Yusin system at the initial stage or not. Because of his wholehearted resolve to attain the two goals without fail for the sake of the country, I gave up my objection and decided to help him. We finally attained the two goals. There is no regret.

My remarks about judgment mean the people's evaluation of what was good and what was bad during the 18-year rule. In my opinion, I will receive the people's bitter judgment by attributing everything good to him and by attributing everything bad to myself. I will also obey the people's judgment. This is what I truly want.

From their standpoint, over the past 7 years, the 17 May forces ruthlessly evaluated the 18-year rule. This is unjustifiable. If the people appraise it the same, I will unconditionally accept their evaluation. We should have been assessed by the people in 1980. Now, 7 years after that, history has rolled back and the situation has reverted to that of 1980. Thus, I want to be judged. I have no other intention. We just intend to receive the people's direct judgment of whether the 18-year rule of the DRP and President Pak should have been slashed in that way. If the people evaluate the 18-year rule and order us to rule the country again, we will devote everything to serving the people and the nation during the tenure assigned by the people.

[Chang Myong-su] I cannot say that it is not possible for the NDRP to take power through the forthcoming election. But it is true that it is a minor party at present. You are the first person who has been reduced from the head of a powerful ruling party to that of a minority party. What lessons did you learn from the two conflicting experiences? In the course of founding the party, you experienced difficulty in securing the party headquarters. Suffering from such a difficulty, did you ever imagine the distress experienced by the opposition party under the rule of the powerful DRP?

[Kim Chong-pil] I think that there is no such party at home and abroad as the DRP which was dissolved under whatever pretexts and which is embodying its intention by inheriting its will and by reconstructing itself. How many parties have appeared and disappeared since 1948 when the Law on Political Parties was enacted? They were not political parties. I am of the opinion that a political party should work with its own tradition, will, ideal, and durability. For example, we have recently witnessed the division of a political party on three occasions. It is not a party. Our DRP will show what a political party should be and its will.

Even though we have been reduced to a minority party because things have changed, we were ready to be a minority party and cannot but be one. The first article of

the ROK Constitution states that the ROK is a democratic republic. We pledge that as long as the ROK exists, the NDRP will be eternal despite all difficulties. There will be ups and downs for the party. However, while overcoming all difficulties, we will remain a party that serves the fatherland. We had a difficulty in securing the party headquarters. During the period of the DRP rule, we purchased a party building for the opposition party. But we were blocked from purchasing our headquarters. I have no idea of whether this is democracy. It is said that this is democracy. I think that our people should recognize what is true and what is false.

[Pak Song-pom] I remember that you said in an interview with *Wolgan Choson* last November that you will not compete with the two Kims or any others for the presidency. Why did you decide to run?

[Kim Chong-pil] At that time, I did not want to run. However, I changed my mind and decided to run. [passage omitted]

[Pak Song-pom] You first went to Seoul National University, the College of Education to be precise, then switched to the Korean Military Academy immediately after national liberation, and graduated eighth in your class. You are the man who mounted a military coup for the first time in the constitutional history of our country. We would like to hear your opinion of the military and of relations between the military and politics. You are a soldier-turned-politician who now calls for an end to the military rule; even Candidate No, also a soldier-turned-politician, has promised to end the military rule. What differences you find between the two of you?

[Kim Chong-pil] In my opinion, he and I have something in common only when we consider the fact that we were both soldiers first, who later got involved in politics. However we carried out our revolution of 16 May while declaring that we were launching a revolution. When they mounted the 17 May incident, we did not hear any mention of revolution. It is hard to understand why they came out and intervened in politics. This is why there can be no comparison. As far as revolution in our country is concerned, 16 May, a revolution in which soldiers intervened in politics, should have been the first and the last.

In reality, in 1980 the DRP urged me to run for president under the Yusin Constitution. Although there was a considerable number of people who opposed my running for the presidency. If I were blinded by my ambitions for power, I would have run and, who knows, I might have won the election. However, I decided that, with the death of President Pak Chong-hui, an era had passed which gave way to a new era. Based on such an outlook on the times and politics, I decided not to run, but instead watched how the people choose their president—a difficult task.

I also have to make it clear that in deciding not to run, I meant to say that never again should soldiers be allowed to intervene in politics, that toward this end the voters should exercise their sovereign right correctly and justly and in a way that leads to the establishment of a legitimate government, and that if this were to happen, it would provide no excuse for soldiers to intervene in politics. Viewed in this light, 16 May and 17 May, although they sound similar as figures, are totally different in nature.

Although there are many people who are concerned about the military, the military has, in fact, grown up very much. The military knows its position well. This might be a result of the impact 16 May had on the military. Also, I believe the military may be moderating its posture because it is well aware of the maturity of our people. Moreover, before worrying about intervention by soldiers, the politicians should see to it that they do not provide any excuse for soldiers to intervene in politics. This is what I believe.

[Kim Tae-chung] Taken in a favorable sense, your words remind us of late President Pak's statement, "It is my hope that no one will become as unfortunate a soldier as I am." However, taken ill, your words also sound like, "I did it, but you had better not do it." I hope you will tell us what difference there is between the interview you gave *Wolgan Choson* last November and the change you are showing now. If you fail to make this change clear, it will create in the hearts of the people, that is to say the voters, the impression that you are a person who changes his opinion on the spur of the moment.

[Kim Chong-pil] There were many corresponding conditions and factors. I spoke in a light mood under the influence of those conditions. However, I realize that I can never escape from such a historical axis. I told myself that I would have to do it. I do not believe that anyone has ever gone through such enormous challenges, restrictions, and obstructions in founding a party, regardless of its nature, as I have gone through and am still going through. I am overcoming these difficulties thanks to my firm determination.

[Chang Myong-su] Do you mean that the DRP regime was not as suppressive against the opposition parties as it is today?

[Kim Chong-pil]? You can say that. I do remember, however, how we managed to partially influence the opposition parties from time to time. During our DRP period, we helped the opposition parties find office buildings, get financial support, and we even gave them some automobiles, although they were returned a few days later. Nevertheless, we did not interfere in such matters as founding the opposition parties. There can be no comparison.

[Kim Tae-chung] Do you mean to say that your partial influence includes changing the opposition party's president? You are now speaking of material benefits you claim to have given to the opposition party. Material benefits as such could be a conciliatory policy or political funds. Suppression, which we are talking about, however, is different from such things as pacifying the opposition parties through bribery.

[Kim Chong-pil] Toward the end of the DRP era, the president of the New Democratic Party was punished by divesting him of his presidency. I had been elected to the National Assembly five times and during those times, I had never refused to toe the party line. However, I had cast a negative vote against the expulsion of President Kim Yong-sam [from the National Assembly]. I want you to understand that I had cast a negative vote, feeling sorry for him. I do not mean to say that there was no such thing as suppression during our time, but it was nothing in comparison with that of today.

[Kim Kyong-chol] With the election approaching, the runners for the presidency are now announcing a lot of economic promises. You once ran the government in the past. How do you view their election promises? Also, you promised to raise the standards of living of the workers, peasants, and fishermen to the level of middle class in a short period of time. What plan do you have in this regard? And what kind of middle class are you referring to?

[Kim Chong-pil] One thing on which we want to lay particular stress when we take the helm of state affairs is to raise the standard of living of the workers, peasants, and fishermen to the level of middle class, to enable them to feel no discrimination and to live with their backs straightened, and to eventually make them feel that they are the masters of society. Even though one of the presidential candidates promised to liquidate the debts of the peasants and fishermen, it is impossible to do so. What we plan to do is to hold agricultural and fishery cooperatives liable for the debts of the peasants and fishermen and ease the conditions for debt servicing so that they can pay back the debts on low interests over a long period of time. This is how we plan to raise their income. Although our annual per capita income is said to be \$2,500, there is a profound difference when it comes to the individual income. We intend to make the poor lead better and more decent lives by taking care of them. By presenting long-range policies and setting directions for the economy we plan to liberalize the economy in general by making it civilian-run, with the government playing the role of a coordinator. On the whole, we plan to make the civilian-run economy grow on its own by not interfering in it. Our idea about the government's role concerning the economy is to create conditions for the national development to lead the economic development. [passage omitted]

[Pak Song-pom] The runners for big power are now holding mass rallies throughout the country as part of

election campaigning. We understand that you prefer televised debates to mass rallies. Is it because you are poor at addressing the masses?

[Kim Chong-pil] To be frank with you, I am poor at speaking at mass rallies. The real reason, however, is my belief that mobilizing the masses for a campaign is a waste. We were so foolish in the 1964 presidential election as to mobilize a large number of the masses. Looking back on it, I cannot help laughing. What is an election campaign? It is a way of laying bare everything the candidates have before the masses and when they do this, it is clear what they can say. It is either an agitation or waste. To hold such a meeting in Pusan, they bring people from Seoul. Why do we do this? If we use televised debates instead, the voters can comfortably watch, listen to, and rate the candidates on the TV screen at home. This is why I am against mass rallies.

[Kim Tae-chung] You said you had cast a negative vote concerning the ouster of President Kim Yong-sam. However, the morning papers on 5 October 1979 quoted then House Speaker Paek Tu-chin as announcing the expulsion of President Kim according to the unanimous consent on the part of the DRP members and Yujonghoe members. Do you mean that this newspaper article is wrong?

[Kim Chong-pil] I had cast a negative vote.

[Kim Tae-chung] Was the article wrong or was there some kind of fabrication in the ballot counting?

[Kim Chong-pil] I had cast a negative vote. There is no question about it.

[Kim Tae-chung] Did you not read newspapers the next morning?

[Kim Chong-pil] ....

[Kim Tae-chung] Did you intend to correct the article?

[Kim Chong-pil] I did.

[Pak Song-pom] How do you rate the other candidates?

[Kim Chong-pil] It is impolite to say this and that about the other candidates. Both Mr Kim Tae-chung and Mr Kim Yong-sam are the ones who have pursued what they firmly believe right through their long political career. I greatly respect them as a politician. Although I have met him a couple of times, I do not know Mr No Tae-u very well. As they are all running for the presidential office with great ambitions, I think they will do their best to win. As compared to them, I always feel I lack something. [passage omitted]

[Kim Tae-chung] When you, President Kim, opposed the constitutional revision for a third term of office, we hoped that your opposition would be carried through to

the end. It was the same during the revitalizing reform, too. But we were very much disappointed because your opposition fell through. Who can assure that that kind of disappointment will not recur?

[Kim Chong-pil] I will do that.

[Chang Myong-su] President Kim, of the four presidential candidates, you appear to have a relatively conservative view of women. You once said: There is a distinction between man and woman; and the work for man differs from that for woman. Now, is the presidency fit for man only?

[Kim Chong-pil] When I mentioned a distinction between man and woman, I only talked about a generality. I believe that the faculties peculiar to woman only will organically diffuse into our society and help develop it.

[Pak Song-pom] President Kim, you are the one who created the KCIA. This mechanism started creating the trend toward distrust in our society by deviating from its original function and meddling in political affairs. Do you not regret that you made the KCIA?

[Kim Chong-pil] The purpose for establishing the KCIA was to set up an organization to produce external strategic intelligence. Since we faced various difficulties after staging the revolution, we established it on a provisional basis to overcome those difficulties and pave the way for a transfer to the next phase. I had hoped that it would carry out its original functions when there was a transfer of power to civilian rule. After I resigned as KCIA director in January, 1963, I could not interfere in it and my original intention was not carried through. I think that sooner or later it should return to its original function and its investigative function should be given back to the prosecution.

[Kim Kyong-chol] In my opinion, the NDRP is responsible for the feelings of regionalism because it sets forth regional distinctions in its economic policy. This has now become a political issue and I think that you should feel responsible for it.

[Kim Chong-pil] I think there are many factors that generate regional feelings. I will not deny that during those days considerably more weight was given to Yongnam [Kyongsang provinces] than to Honam [Cholla provinces] in personnel administration. There is also quite a difference in development between the Yongnam and Honam regions themselves. But this is only a result of the effort to find places with favorable conditions for industrial development. Taking a look at the feelings in connection with presidential elections, they came to the fore in 1971 and I was very much worried.

Feelings of regionalism were not generated in just the past quarter of a century, but rather they have long traditions. I do not think the matter will be settled



artificially in one stroke. But I think the time will come when we will live without a gap in life, culture, and other areas and, after undergoing this process, we will digest them in practical terms in our awareness. It appears that Yongnam and Honam are quite hotly pitted against each other today, and I think politicians must take this seriously and refrain from making speeches to generate or agitate those feelings. I make it clear here that I do not make mass-rally-type local stumping tours because I am worried about those things.

[Chang Myong-su] President Kim, because you vested investigative functions in the KCIA, the agency which should have made the people feel at ease became the object of terror, and antigovernment figures, who are not communists, went through bitter sufferings. Your coming out now to face the people's judgment is, I think, the fruit of the untiring democratization struggle carried out by the people who waged an antiestablishment movement at that time. Do you not have something to say to those people?

[Kim Chong-pil] I said that I feel sorry for those people to whom I caused troubles, whether it was my intention or not, in the course of pursuing stability to an excessive extent. I think there are many complex factors while a nation is developing. It is impossible for development not to be accompanied by sacrifice. Do you think I do not know that those sacrifices and sufferings have not been redressed? I joined in the race because I know that.

[Pak Song-pom] In connection with the emergence of radical forces in a section of society, the political circles sometimes talk about a grand union of conservatives. Do you intend to participate in that?

[Kim Chong-pil] I am not sure if the conservatives have room to be united and cope with reformist forces because the latter have been enlarged. I have not thought about the so-called grand union of conservatives because I cannot understand the idea itself.

[Kim Tae-chung] Listening to what you say now, I feel quite a lot of wild nature about you. However, people tend to classify the NDRP as a progovernment party. They also take the 16 May and 17 May incidents as two brothers. What do you think about such conceptions?

[Kim Chong-pil] There is no change in my evaluation that the 16 May and 17 May incidents are qualitatively different. If the 17 May Incident should be called a younger brother of the 16 May Incident, it means that the 16 May Incident has a very nasty younger brother.

[Kim Tae-chung] Do you negate the proposition that it is a younger brother? Is not a younger brother a younger brother?

[Kim Chong-pil] That is only playing with words. It cannot be a younger brother. It should draw the same blood, but its blood is different.

[Pak Song-pom] When you look at your wife not as a helper at home but in a first lady's capacity, how would you grade her?

[Kim Chong-pil] My wife has neither qualities worthy of praise nor defects to speak ill of. Looking at her in the first lady's capacity, I think that she possesses natural talent to help the president while being plain but attending to her work without behaving harshly.

[Kim Kyong-chol] Politics should be practiced by politicians, and the economy should be run by economists. In the past, President Kim, you ran a citrus fruit farm and other farms in Cheju Province. Were influential political figures to undertake similar businesses in the days ahead, what would you do?

[Kim Chong-pil] As a matter of fact, I set up the farm you mentioned after pondering how I could help my juniors. That was after I had given up all public offices in 1968 with the resolve not to engage in politics ever again. It is not true that I ran it while I was holding a high office. Whatever I do, I do it with the intention of bequeathing something to the ROK. I think there is no need to differentiate, except from the standpoint of contributing something beneficial to the nation rather than not doing something. Although I was criticized and lashed a lot over this issue, I think I should be grateful. I think that however high a position one may hold in society, one should not give up his resolve to do something to serve the country.

[Kim Kyong-chol] During the DRP days you must have spent election campaign funds freely without restraint. Now, your position has changed and you have to conduct election campaigns from the opposition's position. Are there any restraints placed on you by the ruling party or a third agency?

[Kim Chong-pil] Thank you for that question. Although I had anticipated it, I did not know that they would check me so severely. I think I am fortunate because I have not suffocated yet. But I am in a very difficult situation. Fortunately members founded the party despite our destitute situation by showing their sincerity with whatever they had, and we are running the party. But we are not in the least disappointed about this. Everyone made a start with a firm resolve and we have built the NDRP on a firm foundation. We made a start on such a foundation. We will march onward untiringly and undaunted with a firm resolve. If the questioner has some sincerity to demonstrate and will make a donation, I would appreciate it. [laughter]

[Kim Tae-chung] I think I remember that it was in 1983. When he founded the Council for the Promotion of Democracy, Mr Kim Yong-sam, the present RDP president, is said to have sent people to you through various channels, proposing to oppose the regime in power in whatever form. Records state it that way, too. Our understanding is that you replied that it was not the right

time. If that reply was right, we wonder why it was not the right time. We also feel that if you had taken part together and contributed to it, no matter how little it may have been, it would have helped improve your present position, and you could have engaged in politics in a far better position. Could you tell us the reason why you said at that time that it was not the right time?

[Qim Chong-pil] At that time a couple of men called on me and that sort of idea was conveyed to me. But it was obvious that those talks contained no certainty of being translated into practice. Secondly, it was at a time when I was still under the strong impact of the 17 May incident, and I did not have any contact with the outside, confining myself at home. Therefore, even if I had been strongly invited, I do not think I would have accepted. That was the situation at that time.

[Chang Myong-su] I think that it was the DRP government which started systematic suppression and control over the press. As you have the opportunity of a free discussion with journalists here today, do you think that the freedom of press is indeed necessary for the development of the nation? When comparing the past, when you were entirely free with the press under strict control, with the present when you are completely exposed under the criticism of the press, when do you think were you freer?

[Kim Chong-pil] Freedom of the press is a question which is always debated. Frankly speaking, however, the past cannot be compared with the present. As for the past, there was even such resistance that ad columns of newspapers were left with blanks, there were private broadcasting systems, and there were ample criticism. The press clashed with the government. But the will of the press was displayed and fulfilled to a remarkable extent, and confrontation was intensified. I am not going to talk about the details, because you are well aware of the situation of the past 7 years. I just think that the present cannot be compared with the past. The present partiality of the press is beyond our imagination. I have complaints. But I understand this is the present situation. I only believe that press autonomy will be fully guaranteed, if we seize power.

[Pak Song-pom] Following the revolution, you told the people that democracy would be possible if only the per capita income reached a \$500 level, and asked them to wait. After that, however, the Yusin Constitution was introduced when the per capita income reached \$1,000 and, today, when we are looking forward to a per capita income of \$3,000, the people are still desiring for democratization. You have remained as a politician throughout this period. After 20 years, how do you assess the present political situation?

[Kim Chong-pil] Yes. I said that democracy would be possible, if the per capita income only reached a \$500 level. An economist told me that it is no use crying for

democracy if the per capita income is less than \$300. So I asked him if democracy was possible with a per capita income of \$500. He said that it depends on what we do. So I quoted what he said. We can say that a man's desire is endless. It may be possible to achieve democracy with a per capita income of \$1,000 or \$1,500. I remember what I said when the Americans were very critical of our democracy. I told them that it is something like the people with an income of \$10,000 demanding the people with an income of \$700 live a life lived by them. I told them that we could seek a democracy worth only \$700. Democracy is still discussed, and we are in difficulties as we approach the stage of democratization. But I feel that we have provided the conditions for and established the foundation for democracy. I believe that we must achieve democracy according to our situation, regardless of the level of income. For sure, democracy cannot grow amid absolute poverty, ignorance, and instability. We experienced this during the late forties, the late fifties, and the early sixties. There is no change in my belief that democracy is possible only on the economic soil where democracy can grow.

[Moderator] Here, we will finish with the panelists' questions. I have 15 or 16 questions from those present at this panel discussion today. I will select several of those that are not duplicated. Here is the first question: President Kim, your candidacy will eventually result in eroding the votes for the DJP. So there are rumors that you will drop out in the middle of the race. Do you think this will really happen?

[Kim Chong-pil] I don't know why there are such consistent questions. I think they come from the people who deliberately spread such rumors. I suggest you ask them the question. [laughter]

[Moderator] If you fail in the presidential election, will you run for a National Assembly post? If so, what electoral district are you going to choose?

[Kim Chong-pil] I have no desire to do so.

[Moderator] If you seize power, as the one who took the lead in the 16 May coup d'etat did in 1961, if you tell the military to stay away from politics, will this be persuasive?

[Kim Chong-pil] I believe this question is hypothetical. However, I have already stated that in our country, in no case should any excuse be given for the military to intervene in politics. Now, in our country, the society matured, and the military, as well, realizes its inherent position and shows to the people its stand to adhere to its position. I am convinced that there will be no change in these conditions. [passage omitted]

[Moderator] How do you compare the achievements of the past 7 years of the Fifth Republic with those of the DRP regime? In this connection, we wonder why you describe yourself as the ringleader of Yusin, not as a remnant of Yusin.

[Kim Chong-pil] There are affirmative aspects that the Fifth Republic has stabilized commodity prices and contributed to an earnings surplus in the international balance of payments. However, there are much

more negative aspects. While equally enjoying the era of the three lows, our growth has been less than half of what free China has achieved. Actually, the past 7 years of the DJP have been what has maintained the industrial foundation established during the era of the DRP. There are too many deficiencies to assess that more industrialization has been achieved. However, I believe and I assess that there are aspects that show efforts have been made to do one's best. [passage omitted]



## Brunei, Malaysia & Singapore

### Malaysia

**Interview With Prime Minister Mahathir**  
*BK170645 Jakarta KOMPAS in Indonesian*  
9 Nov 87 pp 1, 12

[Text] Kuala Lumpur, KOMPAS—Racial conflict, especially between the Malays and Chinese, is still a sensitive issue in Malaysia. The issue is so sensitive and complex that tension quickly follows whenever there are frictions in the political, economic, religious, language, and educational fields.

The government of Mahathir Mohamed, who assumed power in 1981, is under constant threat of this racial conflict and worried over the possibility of a recurrence of the racial riots which took place in May 1969. The bloody riots, still viewed as a national trauma, claimed about 500 lives in Kuala Lumpur. Racial tension has been increasing in the past 2 months, prompting the Mahathir government to launch massive arrests on 27 October. A total of 93 persons have thus far been arrested under the Internal Security Act [ISA].

In an interview with *Kompas* correspondent Rikard Bagun in Kuala Lumpur last Saturday [7 November], Prime Minister Mahathir said that many people had abused the liberal policy adopted by his government. He even accused his political opponents and certain newspapers of taking advantage of the liberal policy and playing up racial sentiments.

Wearing a grey safari suit during the interview, Mahathir calmly explained the necessity of maintaining the controversial ISA because Malaysia still needs such a law. Under the ISA, a person can be detained without trial for 60 days.

During the 50-minute interview, Mahathir also defended the New Economic Policy [NEP], aimed at raising the economic stake of the indigenous Malays to 30% in 20 years. However, he denied allegations that the NEP, launched in 1970, has heavily favored the economic interests of the Malays because the Chinese are in fact given 40% of the economic pie. Three years before the NEP expires in 1990, the Malays will control only 18% of the national economy. Mahathir indicated that another NEP-type economic program will be initiated so the 30% target can be reached.

Mahathir also explained why Labor Minister Lee Kim Sai, concurrently secretary general of the Malaysian Chinese Association [MCA] and Minister of Youth and Sports Affairs Najib Tun Razak, concurrently chairman of the Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia [Malaysian Islamic Youth Movement] were not arrested when people from various quarters believe that the two men played active roles in provoking racial tension in the past 2 months. Mahathir stressed that Lee Kim Sai and Najib were not

the ones that touched off the racial tension because the two were simply responding to the statements made by Lim Kit Siang, the opposition leader in Parliament and secretary general of the Democratic Action Party.

The following is *Kompas*' interview with Mahathir in his office. A computer and television were visible inside the office.

[Bagun] Were the recent arrests in Malaysia caused only by the racial issue or is there any other factor involved?

[Mahathir] The arrests were mainly caused by the racial issue. Those arrested are people who are involved in the efforts to heighten mutual hatred within the community.

[Bagun] The arrests themselves gave the impression to the outside world that stability in Malaysia is being threatened. What do you think?

[Mahathir] It is noteworthy that interracial relations in the country have been strained. If we do not take precautionary measures, there are signs of recurring incidents like those in 1969. The arrests were originally aimed at restoring order in the country. If we did not make the arrests, the situation would probably become less stable and this could destroy Malaysia's image as far as foreign investment is concerned.

[Bagun] What is the impact of the arrests on foreign investment?

[Mahathir] We must look at the issue from the other side of the coin. If there were no arrests, there would be riots. If there were riots, there would be less foreign investments. Now that we have made the arrests, there are no riots and foreign investors are relieved. No one can deny the fact that the present situation is more stable than before 27 October.

[Bagun] The arrests seem to be a short-term solution aimed at reducing racial tension. Do you have a long-term program to solve the problem?

[Mahathir] We do have programs, but the most important thing (laughing) is that these troublemakers should not be allowed to operate. We always have programs, but no program of ours go unopposed. They launch destructive criticisms by raising the racial issue and other issues. In fact, we never neglect any racial group in the country. Look at the NEP, for instance. It is actually an agreement among all racial groups that the economic pie will be shared properly among these groups so no single group will be economically backward. The indigenous people are entitled to 30% of the economic pie, while the Chinese get 40% even though their number is less than the indigenous. This is no problem for us, but why do they question the economic status of the indigenous people, whose share of the economic pie, due to current economic recession, is only 18% when the NEP is going to expire soon. They interpret the NEP as a policy to give

priorities to the indigenous Malays only and become angry about it. For our part, we are certain that the Chinese in Malaysia live more happily than those in other countries.

[Bagun] People can be arrested under the ISA on suspicion either of being a communist or of being involved in subversive activities. Do those arrested recently fall into these two categories?

[Mahathir] We should look back to the time when I first assumed the post of prime minister. At that time, we were trying to adopt a more open and liberal administration. We also hoped that people would be more introspective and would not abuse the liberal policy we were adopting. Unfortunately, there are certain people from the opposition parties and certain newspapers like the *Star* (whose editorial staff includes former Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman) who abuse our liberal policy and play up the racial sentiments. They have for instance made comments on certain issues which we have agreed not to discuss in public. These issues include the economic status of the indigenous and nonindigenous people. They were getting more and more vocal in their comments and consequently drew sharp reactions from the government's party. Chinese political parties, such as the MCA, did not want to lag behind the DAP in defending the interests of the Chinese people. This naturally offended the Malays, especially those who are members of the UMNO [United Malays National Organization]. This led to an increase in interracial tension. Therefore, we took action against those who had initiated the tension and triggered off the confrontation, not those who responded. (Mahathir mentioned this twice—editor).

[Bagun] Can the ISA be equated with or lead to the imposition of martial law?

[Mahathir] No! The ISA will not lead to the imposition of martial law. People are detained so they can change their attitude. Every 6 months, they will be asked if they are willing to stop their previous activities that are prejudicial to national security. However, the ISA will not lead to martial law because the two are unrelated. We have had the ISA for a long time, but democracy and general elections still exist. There are people who are relieved to learn about the ISA arrests and some of them even write letters and send cables supporting my decision, but there are also those who send cables opposing the arrests because they have their own interests.

[Bagun] Are those detained under the ISA mixed with other criminals?

[Mahathir] No, the ISA detainees are separated from other criminals because they are political detainees.

[Bagun] What happens to them in the first 60 days of their detention?

[Mahathir] They are in police custody. If they turn out to be innocent, they will be released even before the end of the 60 days.

[Bagun] The appointment of non-Chinese-educated teachers to Chinese primary schools has been one of the reasons for the current tension. Is there a definite process toward the usage of Malay as a national language and medium of instruction in Malaysian schools?

[Mahathir] This process will take a long time, but the problem is that the issue has been discussed openly in public. We can of course discuss this sensitive issue in a closed forum. If we start doing it openly, it will lead to racial sentiments because those who join the open discussion are not well-versed in the details of racial politics. They only want to let go their pent-up emotions, and this is dangerous to the country. We admit that we do have plenty of racial problems, but what is important is that we do not discuss them in public. We have the Barisan Nasional where all racial groups are represented. We can discuss and settle racial problems within the Barisan Nasional.

[Bagun] If the current tension involves Chinese schools, will it also take place in Indian Tamil primary schools?

[Mahathir] At the primary school level, the government still gives subsidies to those schools using their mother tongue as the medium of instruction. The national language is taught as one of school subjects, but there is no regulation stipulating that a teacher's promotion depends on his passing the Chinese-language examination. Therefore, those who fail the examination can still get promoted. Such promotions are common. These teachers never thought of receiving this kind of treatment because they are basically Chinese teachers who are qualified to assume such posts. Things will be different if we appoint Malay teachers to assume posts in Chinese schools. This is our view, but the Chinese described our move as an effort to undermine the Chinese language.

[Bagun] Will the government continue its policy on this matter?

[Mahathir] We have set up a commission to study how to solve this problem. The commission will come up with a solution.

[Bagun] The racial issue in Malaysia seems to be based on the political structure. The Malays are grouped in UMNO, the Chinese in MCA and DAP, and the Indians in MIC [Malaysian Indian Congress]. Is there a way to remove this polarization?

[Mahathir] This racial issue is hard to solve completely. If we compare Malaysia with other multiracial countries, we find their condition worse than Malaysia. In 30 years of independence, we have had racial riots only once. In

general, the situation is normal and economic development is proceeding smoothly. Through cooperation in the Barisan Nasional, I am sure that we can gradually promote better interracial cooperation in the future.

[Bagun] What do you think of the MCA's views that Malaysians are equal, including the immigrants?

[Mahathir] This is something we should never talk about because it is a sensitive issue. Neither should we raise the issue of Chinese being immigrants in this country; but they should also stop saying that we are not indigenous people. Everything must be balanced properly. While Malay is endorsed as the national language, the Constitution stipulates that other languages can also be used. The same is true with religions in this country.

[Bagun] Tunku Abdul Rahman believes that the country's stability is most important even though the Malays or Chinese can strengthen their sense of identity. What do you think of this view?

[Mahathir] Peace and security depend on the interracial harmony. Therefore, if the Chinese increase their sense of identity, there will be no peace. The same is true with the Malays. We must not ignore the causes which may lead to racial riots.

[Bagun] Are you as confident as President Suharto on the security arrangements for the ASEAN summit in Manila?

[Mahathir] Yes, I am confident the Philippine authorities will do their best to provide security and safety for their guests during the ASEAN summit in Manila.

**Australian Defense Minister Begins Visit**  
*BK170701 Kuala Lumpur International Service in English 0600 GMT 17 Nov 87*

[Text] Australian Defense Minister Kim Beazley arrived in Kuala Lumpur today for discussions with his Malaysian counterpart Tengku Ahmad Rithauddeen. An Australian High Commission spokesman said bilateral defense arrangements and current regional issues are on the agenda. He said Mr Beazley is visiting four Southeast Asian countries to reaffirm common interests in the security of the region and to review ongoing cooperative defense activities between Australia and the countries.

A 10-day tour of Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, and Brunei is Mr Beazley's first to the countries since assuming the defense portfolio in 1984.

## Cambodia

**Heng Samrin Regiment Mutinies in Pursat**  
*BK160735 (Clandestine) Voice of the Khmer in Cambodian 0500 GMT 16 Nov 87*

[Text] A KPNLF source reports that in July, about 500 Heng Samrin soldiers in a regiment posted at Phnum Phkai Proek in Pursat Province mutinied because they were not happy with delays in their pay and irregularity and inadequacy in their food supplies.

This source reports that a Heng Samrin regiment of about 500 soldiers posted at Phnum Phkai Proek in Pursat Province were angry with the Vietnamese-Heng Samrin regime, which were responsible for their inadequate living conditions and pay. The soldiers left their positions and walked across the Phnum Kravanh range toward Leach District in Pursat Province.

The report does not clearly identify the units of the mutineers. The source says when the mutineers were halfway through their journey, the Vietnamese-Heng Samrin Defense Ministry in Phnom Penh was alerted, and some tanks were ordered to surround and force the mutineers to surrender. However, the Heng Samrin soldiers refused, and a battle ensued lasting for 15 minutes.

We do not know the casualties among the Vietnamese and puppet soldiers but we do know that 6 mutineers died on the spot and 30 others were arrested. The fate of other mutineers is not yet known.

## BRIEFS

### Hungarian Trade Delegation

Phnom Penh, 16 Nov (SPK)—A delegation of the Hungarian Foreign Trade Ministry arrived in Phnom Penh yesterday for a visit to the PRK. The delegation led by Deputy Minister Otto Herkner was greeted upon its arrival by Phang Saret, Cambodian deputy trade minister, and others. [Text] *[Phnom Penh SPK in French 0405 GMT 16 Nov 87 BK]*

### Returnees in October

Phnom Penh, 14 Nov (SPK)—In October, 34 people misled by enemy propaganda returned to the revolution in Puok District, Siem Reap-Oddar Meanchey Province. The returnees, including 17 who surrendered in groups, brought along 48 assorted weapons and other war materiel. [Summary] *[Phnom Penh SPK in French 0407 GMT 14 Nov 87 BK]*



## Indonesia

### Philippines' Manglapus Arrives in Jakarta

BK170143 Jakarta Domestic Service in Indonesian  
2300 GMT 16 Nov 87

[Text] Philippine Foreign Secretary Raul Manglapus says security arrangements for next month's ASEAN summit in Manila will be completed in time because of excellent preparations.

Speaking on his arrival in Jakarta yesterday, Raul Manglapus said security units from ASEAN countries are already in the Philippines and cooperating well with their Philippine counterparts to provide security for the Manila meeting of ASEAN leaders on 14 December.

The Philippine foreign secretary, who was welcomed by his Indonesian counterpart Mokhtar Kusumaatmaja at Jakarta's Sukarno-Hatta International Airport yesterday, is scheduled to pay a courtesy call on President Suharto today.

### Discusses Bases With Suharto

HK180221 Manila Far East Broadcasting Company  
in English 2300 GMT 17 Nov 87

[Text] In Jakarta, visiting Foreign Secretary Raul Manglapus tried to defuse a controversy over the U.S. military bases in Southeast Asia after a meeting with President Suharto yesterday [17 November]. Manglapus said he told Suharto that Manila did not expect the other five members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations to take any formal position on the presence of the U.S. bases in the country. Manglapus said, in his arrival statement, that the Philippine stand on the U.S. bases was clear: Keeping their presence until 1991, when the agreement between Manila and Washington expires. Manglapus said he does not know where the idea had come from, when asked about reports saying Washington was trying to set up a new military alliance in the Southeast Asian region.

### Views on Summit Security

BK170959 Jakarta Domestic Service in Indonesian  
0700 GMT 18 Nov 87

[Text] Following his meeting with President Suharto at the Bina Graha presidential office in Jakarta this morning, Philippine Foreign Secretary Manglapus said President Suharto had assured him that he would not hesitate to go to Manila for the ASEAN summit next month.

During his meeting with the head of state, the visiting Philippine foreign secretary briefed President Suharto on preparations for the ASEAN summit and the latest developments in the Philippines. He said the Philippine Administration is very thankful to President Suharto for his interest in the Philippines, especially for the confirmation of his attendance at the ASEAN summit next month. According to Manglapus, the Philippines is very

hopeful about President Suharto attending the ASEAN summit in Manila because he is considered a very important leader in Southeast Asia.

Answering a question from a reporter, Foreign Secretary Manglapus said that preparations for the Manila ASEAN summit are under way. Basically, it is organized by all ASEAN countries, including the security arrangements. He gave assurances that the Philippine Administration is ready to provide security for next month's ASEAN summit.

### Suharto Meets OPEC Three-Minister Committee

BK170754 Jakarta Domestic Service in Indonesian  
0600 GMT 17 Nov 87

[Text] President Suharto has assured his strong support for OPEC. The head of state expressed his support when he met with OPEC's three-minister committee at the Bina Graha presidential office in Jakarta this afternoon.

The three-minister committee consists of Indonesian Mining and Energy Minister Subroto, Venezuelan Petroleum Minister Grisanti Hernandez, and Nigerian Energy Minister Lukman.

Speaking to reporters after the meeting, committee chairman Lukman said that with Indonesia's support, OPEC is expected to translate the existing mutual understanding into a concrete agreement, which will benefit all members, at an OPEC meeting next month. On the meeting's agenda are new oil prices, production quotas, distribution among members, and supervision over OPEC decisions.

Meanwhile, Minister Subroto disclosed that the OPEC committee had made two rounds of visits to various OPEC member countries in the Middle East, as well as Ecuador, Venezuela, Algiers, and Indonesia. He said the next scheduled visits to Nigeria and Gabon are aimed at soliciting support from those countries for the unity and survival of OPEC.

## Philippines

### Ileto Sees Navida Surrender as 'Demoralizing'

HK180923 Manila Radio Veritas in Tagalog  
0700 GMT 18 Nov 87

[Text] Defense Secretary Rafael Ileto said that the surrender of one of the officers involved in the 28 August coup is a big demoralizing factor for the rebel soldiers. He made this statement following the surrender of Air Force Lieutenant Colonel Roberto Navida to Air Force chief Brigadier General Antonio Sotelo. Navida was one of the rebel officers who first set siege to Villamor Air Base. Secretary Ileto said the military is prepared for any eventuality. This was in reply to reports saying rebel soldiers may strike again before the end of the month,

which is their deadline to surrender. Otherwise, they will be scrapped from the Armed Forces list. Secretary Ito was interviewed by the Malacanang Press Corps.

[Begin recording in English] [Ito] Well, that will be demoralizing to some of them. When one surrenders, the others will feel insecure. I think it will be an encouragement for the others, depending on our treatment. After all at the end of November they will not get any pay, and their families may be denied the use of their quarters.

[Reporter] [Question indistinct]

[Ito] They can always change their mind, especially if they are not used to living in that way.

[Reporter] [Question indistinct]

[Ito] Amnesty? No.

[Reporter] [Question indistinct]

[Ito] I will not be able to recommend that either because that will take a presidential decision.

[Reporter] Will Honasan try to carry out his threat?

[Ito] How will they try to carry out their threats? They tried to carry them out before, and they were unsuccessful. But we can never eliminate the possibility.

[Reporter] Were you able to talk to Honasan?

[Ito] No, I was not able to talk to him.

[Reporter] [Question indistinct]

[Ito] No, why should I? The knowledgeable people should do the investigation. [end recording]

#### **Ito Rules Out Attacks Against U.S. Targets**

*HK180853 Hong Kong AFP in English 0824 GMT  
18 Nov 87*

[By Roberto Coloma]

[Text] Manila, Nov 18 (AFP)—U.S. authorities Wednesday confined servicemen to base at their two major Philippine military facilities for a two-day security exercise amid continuing threats of attack from local communist guerrillas.

Clark Air Base and Subic naval base were closed off and "non-essential" Filipino employees were given a day's paid holiday, U.S. officials said.

"They're having a security exercise strictly on base," U.S. Embassy spokesman Gerald Huchel said in Manila.

The exercises, which Mr. Huchel described as routine, came three weeks after two servicemen and a U.S. civilian were shot dead off Clark.

Both bases are located in the central Luzon region north of here, a hotbed of the 18-year-old rebellion led by the communist New People's Army (NPA). The bases employ a combined total of 40,000 Filipinos.

The chief of police of Olongapo, host city of Subic, said the security exercise occurred amid U.S. fears of an imminent communist rebel attack. Base spokesmen denied this, but did not specify why the measures had been taken.

As the exercises got under way at both bases, Philippine Defense Secretary Rafael Ito said in Manila that he did not believe fresh attacks against U.S. targets were imminent.

The October 28 Clark attacks were followed by a communist threat to hit other U.S. installations as well as U.S. civilian and military officials allegedly aiding the Philippine government's counter-insurgency program.

Mr. Huchel said the bases were not on alert but were merely conducting a "drill," and that the embassy was not undertaking any similar exercise.

He said employees like telephone and radar operators were told to stay on the job "but maybe they don't need trash collectors."

Lieutenant Colonel Nicanor Daos, Olongapo police chief, said Subic commander Rear Admiral Theodore Lewin told him and other local officials they had received information that the NPA may attack the base Thursday or Friday.

Mr. Huchel said the exercises were not related to any tips of an attack.

An *Agence France-Presse* correspondent on the scene said he saw heavily armed U.S. Marines atop buildings inside Subic and on the base grounds conducting the exercises.

A Subic spokesman said "there's no telling how long" the security drills and holiday for Filipino workers will last, but Mr. Huchel said the exercise was scheduled to end Thursday.

Subic and Clark are two of the most vital U.S. military bases anywhere in the world and are seen by communist rebels as symbols of "U.S. imperialism" in this former colony. Both are within two hours' drive of Manila.

The bases' lease ends in 1991, and President Corazon Aquino maintains that she is "keeping our options open" on the bases after the cutoff year.

Talks on the bases' future are scheduled to start in 1988.

Restrictions for the more than 6,000 Subic servicemen were relaxed two weeks ago to allow a visiting aircraft carrier group to enjoy a port call in a barricaded nightclub district jointly guarded by U.S. and Filipino troops.

Clark's more than 9,000 servicemen and U.S. employees and dependents have been banned from making non-essential travel off base since the killings.

Armed U.S. troops have conducted joint patrols with Philippine police outside the base after the killings. The communists have threatened to kill such U.S. servicemen they find outside the base.

Subic has so far not sent out similar patrol teams.

**Rebel Soldiers 'Could Try To Disrupt' Summit**  
*HK180203 Manila Far East Broadcasting Company*  
*in English 2300 GMT 17 Nov 87*

[Text] Rebel soldier Colonel Gregorio Honasan said rebel troops could try to disrupt the ASEAN summit meeting to be held in Manila next month. The fugitive colonel, however, said that the possibility is still open; they can rock the boat or not rock it. He said that his group is observing things like the summit.

He made the remarks in an interview with the *Manila Financial Post* published yesterday [17 November] as authorities finalize an elaborate security plan for the regional meeting. President Corazon Aquino has assured the leaders of Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, Singapore, and Brunei that Manila will be safe for the meeting.

The Philippine military says the Southeast Asian leaders will have helicopters and speedboats for a quick getaway in case of emergency. They say about 10,000 soldiers and police will be mobilized to patrol the park and the building complex where the leaders are to meet in and around Manila.

**Defense Secretary on Situation**

*HK180827 Hong Kong AFP in English 0812 GMT*  
*18 Nov 87*

[Text] Manila, Nov 18 (AFP)—Philippine security officials Wednesday said they were keeping an eye out for a rebel Army colonel after he threatened to disrupt next month's Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) summit here.

Fugitive Colonel Gregorio "Gringo" Honasan, leader of a bloody coup attempt in August, said in an interview published here Tuesday that he can "rock the boat" during the December 14-15 summit of the six-nation group.

"We will have to wait for them to make a move because we cannot pre-empt them right now. We don't know enough about the situation, to tell you frankly," Defense Secretary Rafael Ileto told reporters Wednesday.

"We are always on alert. You can count on us to be always on alert."

Air force authorities meanwhile interrogated a key aide of Col. Honasan who surrendered Tuesday, saying he now believed in President Corazon Aquino's leadership and wanted to end his family's suffering.

No details were immediately available on what Air Force Lieutenant Colonel Roberto Navida had told his interrogators.

Mr. Ileto said he expected more of the estimated 150 officers and men who are still in hiding like Col. Honasan to give themselves up, saying Lt. Col. Navida's surrender was "demoralizing to some of them."

"If one surrenders the rest will feel jittery ... I think it will be an encouragement to the others (to surrender)," he added.

He said another factor was the November 30 deadline for them to give up or be dismissed from the Armed Forces, which would make them lose all salaries and privileges due the families they left behind, including housing.

**Preparatory Committee To Review Bases Issue**

*HK180207 Manila Far East Broadcasting Company*  
*in English 2300 GMT 17 Nov 87*

[Text] The Senate has approved Resolution No 1 creating a joint legislative-executive preparatory committee to review the 1947 RP [Republic of the Philippines]-U.S. military bases agreement, as amended, the 1951 mutual defense treaty, the 1953 military assistance agreement, the RP-U.S. bases labor agreement, and all other security arrangements between the Philippine and U.S. Governments.

**Aquino Holds Dialogue With MNLF Reformist**

*HK171307 Manila THE MANILA CHRONICLE*  
*in English 17 Nov 87 pp 1, 6*

[Text] President Aquino met in secret last Saturday with Dimas Pundato of the Moro National Liberation Front-Reformist Group, a move obviously aimed [at] reviving sagging hopes for negotiated peace in the South.

The encounter, held at Malacanang, gained for Mrs. Aquino an assurance from Pundato that his group, one of three Muslim rebel factions, "stands behind Government and abides by the Constitution."



Some details of the meeting were later reported by Manuel Lim Jr., chairman of the Mindanao consensus-building panel that sup-planted a Government peace panel consisting mainly of Manila-based negotiators.

Lim said Pundato also pledged "to work with Government peace panel consisting mainly of Manila-based negotiators.

Lim said Pundato also pledged "to work with Government in setting up appropriate autonomy" for Muslims. He did not elaborate on what Pundato meant.

Lim described the encounter, held after Mrs. Aquino's second speech to businessmen at the Manila Hotel, as "a brief, social meeting."

The President and Pundato, it was learned, also touched on the terms of the Tripoli Agreement that provided "autonomy" for 27 districts in 13 Muslim-dominated provinces of Mindanao.

At the same time, Lim conceded that the Government felt threatened by the bid of the Moro National Liberation Front to gain full membership in the influential Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC).

As a result, he said, the Government has started to silently lobby with the 46-member organization not to grant the MNLF bid.

In an interview following a news conference, Lim said "it would be disastrous" if the OIC took in the MNLF as [a] full member.

The Muslim groups claim that the MNLF has a good chance of being recognized by the OIC "is not an empty boast," he explained.

The Government's silent lobbying to neutralize the MNLF bid is in the form of information campaigns in media and through diplomatic channels, Lim disclosed.

The idea, he said, is to convince the OIC "that granting full membership status to the "MNLF is not necessary because the Government is taking steps to attain autonomy in Mindanao."

Muslim leaders earlier explained that attainment of full membership in the OIC would enable the MNLF to seek independence status before the United Nations' committee on decolonization.

**Congress Resolution on Huey Helicopters**  
*HK171357 Quezon City Radyo ng Bayan in Tagalog*  
1200 GMT 17 Nov 87

[Text] The Congress issued a resolution asking the President to order the Armed Forces of the Philippines [AFP] to temporarily stop using Huey helicopters. Here is Relos Aquilino with the details:

[Begin recording] The resolution was issued following consecutive accidents involving the Huey helicopter model. Several military officials have died in accidents on board this particular aircraft model. The Huey helicopters, also known as UH-1F helicopters, were used during the Vietnam war. The lower house believes that these models are defective. The congressmen said that all AFP Huey helicopters should undergo careful checkups. The resolution cited the dreadful deaths of Brigadier General Arturo Asuncion and four other officials last Saturday when their chopper crashed in a barangay in Isabela, Basilan. Four other accidents, all involving Huey helicopters, have occurred since September this year. [end recording]

**Revival of Nacionalista Party Announced**  
*HK140645 Hong Kong AFP in English 0635 GMT*  
14 Nov 87

[Text] Manila, Nov 14 (AFP)—Politicians opposed to President Corazon Aquino's government on Saturday announced the "rebirth" of a major Philippine political party in preparation for local elections slated early next year.

The opposition leaders, led by Senator Juan Ponce Enrile and politicians identified with deposed president Ferdinand Marcos's regime, said they revived the Nacionalista Party (NP) as an alternative to the Aquino government which they accused of lacking political will and direction.

"The nation is dangerously adrift. The president has failed to lead," a party manifesto distributed at a news conference said, citing threats from communist insurgents and renegade military men, and urban violence.

The NP has produced several national leaders in the past and with the Liberal Party dominated Philippine politics before Mr Marcos imposed martial law in 1972 and created the pro-administration New Society Movement (KBL).

NP acting president Isidro Rodriguez said talks with Mrs Aquino's estranged Vice President Salvador Laurel, who heads the UNIDO [United Nationalist Democratic Organization] Party, were still ongoing and indicated that an alliance between the two parties was shaping up.

"There are still problems that we have not agreed on," said Mr Rodriguez, who has been negotiating with the Laurel camp for the past two months, adding that "the actual agreement has not yet been formulated."

The Aquino-Laurel ticket ran under the UNIDO banner against Mr Marcos last year, and both were swept to power in the popular revolt two weeks after the February presidential elections which were widely criticized as fraudulent.

Mr Laurel has since been gradually isolated from the political mainstream, with the president's supporters forming the People Power (Laban) [Lakas ng Bayan] movement.

NP leaders said they would wait for the congress to set the rules governing the January 18 elections before deciding if they will join the polls. The two-house legislature has until Thursday, the deadline for filing of candidacies, to formulate the rules.

Homobono Adaza, one of the leaders, indicated that they may not participate "if the rules will be such that victory is only a figment of the imagination."

The party leaders said they were asking the Aquino government to give them "a sporting chance" in the polls, including representation in the official Commission on Elections and inspectors in all precincts nationwide.

Another NP leader, Rene Espina, said the banned Communist Party of the Philippines had expressed interest in the elections and could get 30 per cent of the seats, adding that this may affect the NP's decision to participate.

Blas Ople, former labor minister of Mr Marcos, said they consider the NP as "the main opposition party" at present and added that they did not believe their association with the past regime would affect their chances in the polls.

Mr Marcos's political base has been eroded since his ouster in the revolt which followed Mrs Aquino's claim that she was the cheated winner of the presidential elections. KBL leaders were noticeably absent in the NP gathering.

Mr Enrile said the revival of the party would not affect the opposition umbrella Grand Alliance for Democracy, under which he ran during the May congressional polls, while Mr Ople said "the door will remain open" to other opposition figures who still wished to join the party.

**Namfrel Names Jose Feria as Chairman**

HK140649 Quezon City Radyo ng Bayan in Tagalog  
0600 GMT 14 Nov 87

[Text] The National Movement for Free Elections, or Namfrel, now has a new chairman. Namfrel headquarters announced today that Jose Feria succeeds Christian Monsod as the organization's national chairman, with Estefania Aldaba-Lim as the new vice chairman.

Namfrel also declared that its local chapters all over the country have agreed to apply for accreditation as citizen's arm with the Comelec [Commission for Election]. It would also concentrate on institution-building at grass-roots level, instead of joining in precinct work and undertaking quick-count activities in the local elections.

**Aquino Stresses Commitment to Privatization**

HK140913 Manila MANILA BULLETIN in English  
14 Nov 87 p 5

[Text] President Aquino reiterated Thursday commitment of the Philippine government to privatize its assets and liquefy investment it should never have made.

The President repeated the commitment before some 370 leading businessmen, bankers and executives representing 90 international corporations and investors from 17 nations in the Asia-Pacific, European, and North American regions attending the two-day Philippine investment conference at the Manila Hotel.

She pointed out that she had established the procedure for disposition: open bidding, total transparency, and award to the bidder with the highest bid and the most cash upfront.

"I said that there would be no fears that we will favor anyone. We want cash on the barrelhead because that is what we need to fuel our recovery and growth," the president emphasized.

She added that there would be no clever schemes and no dilatory tactics.

The President professed that she was considering turning over to the Asset Privatization Trust, which has been justly praised for the fairness, transparency and speed of its procedure, the bidding out of all government assets.

"Our policy is one of fairness, and within constitutional limitations, one of equality towards Filipinos and foreigners who wish to invest in the future of this country," she declared.

She noted that "the foreign investor is critical to our plans of recovery and growth, given the size of the (government's) foreign debt, its improvident investments, and the present general reluctance of foreign banks to engage in new lending."

On structural and economic reforms, the President said that the government had de-regulated where regulation might obstruct progress, and responsibly regulated to promote the general welfare.

"We have implemented reforms to improve tax collections and equitably distribute its burden, and exacted greater financial discipline from government agencies and corporations," she said.

She added that the progressive reduction of bank reserve requirements over the past 18 months would indicate the expansionary stance that Philippine monetary authorities had taken.

On the external front, the President affirmed that the government had reached agreement with the advisory group of commercial banks on multi-year restructuring package.

"Along with our privatization policy, we have implemented a debt to equity conversion program to promote long-term equity investments in the country as well as a moderate reduction in the foreign debt," she said.

She pointed out that the reforms had already produced the desired results.

**Aquino 'Honored' by Takeshita Visit**  
*HK140523 Manila Far East Broadcasting Company in English 2300 GMT 13 Nov 87*

[Text] President Aquino said she felt greatly honored that the new prime minister of Japan has chosen to visit the Philippines first. More on this from Art Pabellon.

[Begin recording] President Corazon Aquino yesterday said she felt greatly honored that the new Japanese prime minister, Noboro Takeshita, had chosen the Philippines as the first country he would visit. The president made this remark in a meeting with Minister Makoto Kuroda of the Japanese Ministry of International Trade and Industry [title as heard] at the Malacanang Premier Guesthouse. Kuroda was accompanied by Japanese Ambassador to the Philippines Kiyoshi Sumiya and Senator Agapito Aquino.

Press Secretary Teodoro Benigno, in a talk with newsmen, quoted the president as saying: All of us in the Philippines and in the ASEAN are looking forward to meeting the Japanese prime minister. Benigno also said the president told Kuroda she was expecting the ASEAN summit conference to go well and that everything was going well until the August 28 aborted coup attempt. Nevertheless, she expressed optimism that the situation will stabilize.

This is Art Pabellon for FEBC [Far East Broadcasting Company] news. [end recording]

**Japan's Kosaka Defends Presence of U.S. Bases**  
*OW171445 Tokyo KYODO in English 1253 GMT 17 Nov 87*

[Text] Manila, Nov. 17 KYODO—A senior leader of Japan's ruling Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) who is heading a delegation of Japanese parliamentarians here said Tuesday the removal of the U.S. military bases in the Philippines will be unhealthy for Asia.

But former Foreign Minister Zentaro Kosaka and other members of the 16-man delegation told reporters at a press conference that the issue of the retention of the U.S. military bases in the Philippines is an "internal affair" among Filipinos.

Kosaka met earlier with President Corazon Aquino and handed her a letter from Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita expressing support for her government and looking forward to meeting her in December.

Takeshita will hold talks with leaders of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) after they hold their third summit meeting in Manila December 14-16.

Kosaka said the LDP believes it is a "good thing" to have U.S. bases in Japan because of the "various impact and pressure" from the Soviet Union on his country.

He said if the Filipino people see that the removal of the bases will create a security vacuum in the region, "then your people will not go ahead and create such a vacuum which would require Japan to come in and fill that vacuum."

Asked if he believed that the vacuum created by the withdrawal of the U.S. bases in the Philippines will not be "healthy" for the balance of power in Asia, Kosaka replied: "Yes, positively."

"In the past we have seen Vietnam and other disasters in this region whereby nobody benefited and it will be our task to endeavour not to repeat such tragedies," Kosaka said.

**North Korean Arms Shipments Said Confirmed**  
*HK140905 Quezon City MALAYA in English 14 Nov 87 pp 1, 2*

[By Sonia Dipasupil, Chit Estella, and Butch Fernandez]

[Text] Naval authorities at the Western Command based in Puerto Princesa, Palawan, yesterday confirmed the existence of an arms shipment from North Korea due here late October, but said that although the ship itself did not arrive, parts of the shipment could already be here.

As this developed, the Senate and the Department of Foreign Affairs yesterday decided to look into the reported attempts of North Korea and China to smuggle weapons into the country.

National Security Adviser Emanuel Soriano, who made the disclosure before businessmen Thursday, was also criticized for what some senators called "loose and irresponsible statements."

President Aquino said she had not received any report on the alleged shipment intended for groups out to destabilize her government.

Foreign Affairs Secretary Raul Manglapus also said he had no knowledge of the information disclosed by Soriano. He said the Department of Foreign Affairs would conduct its investigation once it gets hold of the report on the incidents.



Other related developments: —A senior naval officer said navy patrol boats and other vessels have been deployed to patrol the sealanes in the South China Sea following reports of massive arms smuggling through the country's western backdoor.

—Soriano said he was not referring to the Chinese government but to some private firms in China as the source of the arms shipment. He stressed that he did not say that the shipment came from official sources in the Chinese and North Korean governments.

—Senator Juan Ponce Enrile, calling Soriano a "talkative" national security adviser, urged the President to "disauthorize" Soriano's statements and to order him to "shut up." Sen. Aquilino Pimentel supported Enrile's motion challenging the government to decide whether Soriano deserves to stay in his position.

—Briefing the Philippine Business Conference on National Security, Rep. Renato M. Unico, chairman of the House committee on national defense, said the major external threat to Philippine security comes from the Soviet Union, China, Vietnam and other countries staking their claims on the Spratley islands.

The navy officer, who requested anonymity, said the North Korean ship may have been diverted either to Cam Ranh Bay in Vietnam or to the Spratley islands.

From these two places, the weapons, which include semi-knocked down helicopters and SSU-76 air-to-ground missiles, could have been loaded into fishing boats, and submarines at predesignated points along the coastline of Palawan and Mindoro islands, he added.

Palawan and Mindoro are the traditional landing sites for smuggled arms and other war material.

Suspicious about the actual arms landing were also bolstered by the reported discovery of a rebel training camp at the northern tip of Mindoro island near Ignonoc Point at the foot of the Calavite mountains in Paluan town.

Lt. Gen. Renato S. de Villa, AFP [Armed Forces of the Philippines] vice chief of staff, the other day said the bulk of the loose firearms flooding the country come from arms smuggling operations intended for the various insurgent groups, including the CPP [Communist Party of the Philippines]-NPA and the Muslim separatists.

Capt. Ruben de la Cruz, Naval District 4 commander based in Puerto Princesa, said yesterday he has enough vessels to patrol his area of responsibility. He said it is difficult to monitor the South China Sea for ship movements because of its vastness.

In his privilege speech, Enrile scored Soriano for publicizing serious and sensitive charges against the People's Republic of China, with which the Philippines has friendly relations.

Enrile said the sending of arms amounts to a virtual declaration of war by one country on another. If the charges are true, he asked, "what has the Department of Foreign Affairs done about it?"

If the reports are not true, however, Enrile said such charges could provoke another diplomatic protest from China. Earlier, China protested President Aquino's reference to Taiwan as the Republic of China, Vice President Salvador Laurel's trip to Taiwan and the visit of senators to Taiwan to observe its land reform program.

Soriano ruled out the filing of a diplomatic protest over the incident, saying the arms shipment was not made by the Chinese government but by companies in China whose business is to sell arms.

Soriano also denied saying that the discovered arms shipment was meant for the communist New People's Army rebels.

"I did not say it will go to the NPAs. What I said was that it (the arms shipment) might go to both the extreme left or the extreme right groups which are out to topple the Aquino government," Soriano explained.

He added that he did not find it necessary to bring the matter to the President because "no unusual precautions" are being taken yet.

"We are always on the lookout for such things because arms landing is a serious problem, but there are no unusual precautions yet," he said.

Meanwhile, Sen. Leticia Ramos Shahani disputed Enrile's suggestion that a country which enjoys diplomatic relations with the Philippines would never try to commit unfriendly acts. She said the existence of diplomatic ties does not prevent a foreign country from committing hostile acts.

In these instances, Shahani said "the government must take steps to defend its interests."

The Senate later agreed to allow the committees on defense and on foreign affairs to conduct the investigation into the reported arms smuggling.

## Thailand

### Chawalit's Remarks on Cambodia 'Clarified'

BK180051 Bangkok BANGKOK POST in English  
18 Nov 87 p 3

[Text] The army chief's statement that the Kampuchean problem is basically a "civil war" between the Heng Samrin regime and Khmer Rouge is aimed at telling the Soviet Union that it should exert its influence on Vietnam to withdraw, the Foreign Ministry said yesterday.

In a statement issued from the Political Affairs Department, the ministry said Gen Chawalit Yongchaiyut's statement was based on common sense and basic reasoning.

The ministry interpreted the general's statement by saying "the army chief likened the conflict to a problem among relatives and that others not connected with the problem should not become involved and should allow the Khmers to solve their own problems.

For this reason, the ministry said, Vietnam should withdraw its troops from Kampuchea.

At the same time the Soviet Union should tell Vietnam not to become involved but instead Moscow has remained idle on the matter.

Ministry sources said Gen Chawalit is trying to send the Soviets a message before he leaves for the Soviet Union.

Sources said Gen Chawalit has already sent an explanation of his remarks to the ministry. Gen Chawalit reportedly said he was misinterpreted.

The ministry has already circulated this explanation to Thai embassies, sources said.

### Sitthi Meets Australian Defense Minister

BK170045 Bangkok BANGKOK POST in English  
17 Nov p 5

[Text] Visiting Australian Defence Minister Kim Beazley yesterday asked Foreign Minister Sitthi Sawetsila for Thailand's assessment of the situation in the Philippines, the Foreign Ministry said.

Foreign Ministry deputy spokesman Wit Rayananon said ACM [Air Chief Marshal] Sitthi replied that Thailand is confident that the Aquino Government can resolve its problems and expressed full support for her administration.

Mr Beazley is touring Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore and Brunei to gather information and familiarise himself with the region.

He told Minister Sitthi that Australia attaches great importance to ASEAN and he is here to study its defence and security.

The two ministers exchanged views with Minister Sitthi summarising the regional situation and briefing his Australian counterpart on the Kampuchean conflict.

Mr Wit quoted the Australian minister as saying he would be glad to cooperate with Thailand in the search for a political solution to the Kampuchean problem.

He expressed support for Thailand's and ASEAN's stance on the conflict and for any solution based on the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops and self-determination for the Khmer people.

ACM Sitthi also thanked Mr Beazley for Australia's defence assistance to Thailand, which amounts to A\$3.5 million a year, and cooperation in the training of Thai officers in Australia.

ACM Sitthi said bilateral relations, especially in trade, have been very good.

The two countries earlier set the trade target for the 1986-90 period at A\$500 million.

However, up to now bilateral trade has already reached A\$470 million.

Mr Wit quoted ACM Sitthi as saying that he would like to see more Australian investment in Thailand.

### Officials Act To Repatriate Burmese Refugees

BK120259 Bangkok THE NATION in English  
12 Nov 87 p 2

[Text] Mae Hong Son—Local officials next Monday will give more than 400 illegal Burmese immigrants 20 days to voluntarily leave the northern province for Burma, a senior official said.

The official, who requested anonymity, said the minority immigrants remaining in Thailand after the deadline will be arrested and put on trial.

He said those, who refuse to return to their homeland, may be forcibly repatriated.

Provincial authorities Monday will call a meeting among the illegal Burmese, most of them Karen, Kayah and Shan, and inform them of the voluntary repatriation plan, he said.

The Burmese tribespeople will have five days to collect their belongings and 15 days to trek through the jungled terrain back to their original villages in the Burmese border area, he added.

The illegal immigrants, mostly women, children and elderly people, fled Rangoon's offensive against minority rebels along the Burmese-Thai border and came to Thailand three months ago.

They are taking refuge in Nam Piang Din, Nai Soi, Huai Nam Som and Huai Phung villages of Muang District, said the official.

Concerned local officials last Monday met to map out the repatriation plan.

They agreed at the meeting to push the illegal Burmese immigrants back into Burma as soon as possible and said the repatriation should be completed this month.

The officials also blamed the Burmese immigrants for deforestation in the area.

About 100 rai of forested land in Muang District has reportedly been denuded by the illegal immigrants.

Provincial authorities have appointed a fact-finding committee to study the presence of the illegal Burmese in the province, said another official.

He said the authorities must first consult with the Third Army Region if they resort to forced repatriation.

The regional army is responsible for army activities in the north.

In September, local officials in Chiang Rai forcibly pushed 680 hilltribe people back into Burma.

The repatriation drew outcry from the London-based Survival International Group and hilltribe sympathizers, who condemned it as "the most brutal offence against the mountain people."

However, senior National Security Council officials have insisted that the repatriation was in line with the government's policy to deter influxes of illegal immigrants from neighbouring countries.

The Thai government announced in 1979 that foreigners entering the country after March 9, 1979 will be subject to the immigration laws.

Meanwhile, local officials reported sporadic fighting between Rangoon troops and minority rebels close to the Thai-Burmese border opposite Mae Hong Son early this month.

They said rebels of the national Democratic Front, which comprises ten armed Burmese minorities, launched a series of attacks to capture a Burmese position at Taw Maw Village, about 10 kilometres from the border.

Seven wounded Kayah ethnic rebels sought medical treatment in Sri Sangwal Hospital in Muang District over the weekend.

#### **Supreme Command Reports on Border Situation**

*BK171021 Bangkok Domestic Service in Thai  
1300 GMT 15 Nov 87*

[Text] The Supreme Command Information Office has reported the Thai-Cambodian border situation for the past week. It said the Vietnamese side had moved its troops with weapons and military materials from Battambang Province to reinforce its forces in Ratanamondol District of Battambang Province, opposite Pong Nam Ron district of Chanthaburi Province. Vietnamese forces also deployed troops along the border opposite Ban Kruat District of Buriram Province to prevent operations by CGDK forces. Vietnamese forces also conducted troop rotations in areas opposite Prachin Buri Province.

Along the Thai-Cambodian border, Vietnamese artillery shells frequently landed on Thai territory at Chong Bok, Nam Yun District of Ubon Ratchathani Province; Kap Choeng District of Surin Province; Khlong Hat subdistrict of Prachin Buri Province; and Bo Rai District and Muang District of Trat Province.

As for the situation along the Thai-Lao border during the past week, a group of Lao soldiers intruded into territory east of Ban Romklao, Chat Trakan district of Phitsanulok Province during a patrol mission. However, Thai authorities have already pushed them off Thai territory. Vietnamese troops in Laos and Lao soldiers with weapons and military materials were also sent to reinforce military units along the Thai-Lao border at areas opposite Chat Trakan district of Phitsanulok Province, Na Haeo and Tha Li districts of Loei Province, Renu Nakhon district of Nakhon Phanom Province, and Buntarhit District of Ubon Ratchathani Province.

#### **Correction to Daily on Chawalit Remarks**

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "Daily Views Chawalit Cambodian Remarks," published in the 16 November East Asia *Daily Report*, pp 40-42: Page 42, column one, paragraph eight, first sentence: Counterarguments: The Heng Samrin regime is in the Soviet orbit of influence while the Khmer Rouge is regarded as a lackey of Beijing... (supplying dropped phrase)

#### **Vietnam**

#### **Political Bureau Hears Report on USSR Visit**

*BK170847 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese  
2300 GMT 14 Nov 87*

[Text] The CPV Central Committee Political Bureau met on 13 November 1987 to hear a report by our party and government delegation, which was led by Comrade



Nguyen Van Linh, on the results of activities during the delegation's trip to the Soviet Union to attend the October Revolution anniversary celebrations.

1. The Political Bureau warmly greeted the fine success of the grand celebration for the October Revolution anniversary as well as the great success of the international meeting in Moscow of various parties and movements.

The celebration was a summation of 70 years of the social revolution, and an affirmation of the inevitability and correctness of the policy of restructuring and the foreign policy of peace, in accordance with the new trend of the Soviet party and state.

The meeting and the exchange of views—the broadest ever—between various parties and international movements were a vigorous demonstration of the world people's aspirations for peace and disarmament, for prevention of the danger of a destructive nuclear war, and for the reduction of nuclear weapons.

The report delivered by Comrade General Secretary Gorbachev at the commemorative ceremony was a very important document both in theory and practice, in which he evaluated the glorious period spanning the past 70 years of the party, state, and people of the great Soviet Union [words indistinct]. Restructuring stems from a demand for the continuation of the October Revolution undertaking and for creative application of Leninist thoughts. The Soviet Union's restructuring is comprehensive as it calls for achieving democratization, openness, and economic renovation aimed at strongly developing the human factor and material potential in order to speed up socioeconomic development. Restructuring is a process of hard and complex struggle, which must be carried out without haste, but with firm determination.

As for its foreign policy, Comrade Gorbachev underlined the new political thinking, the new mode of presentation, and the trend toward resolving various fundamental and pressing global issues related to the destiny and civilization of all mankind, especially the issue of preventing a destructive nuclear war and proceeding toward a nuclear-free and nonviolent world in international relations.

2. The CPV Central Committee Political Bureau highly valued the results of our party and government delegation's activities. Our delegation's speech voiced the profound sympathy of our party and people with the October Revolution and the stand of our party on the most burning issues in the world.

3. The fact that the comrade general secretary spoke on behalf of 178 parties and movements from 120 countries throughout the world at the 7 November Kremlin reception was a great honor and the source of strong encouragement for our entire party and people.

The talks between Comrade Nguyen Van Linh and Comrade Gorbachev and between Comrade Pham Hung and Comrades Ryzhkov and Talyzin have an important significance for the constant promotion of fraternal friendship and all-around cooperation between Vietnam and the Soviet Union. These Soviet leaders once again affirmed their wholehearted support for our people's cause of national construction and defense, and welcomed Vietnam's policy of renovation in the economic cooperation between the two countries.

Our delegation also exchanged its views with various fraternal delegations from Laos, Cambodia, Mongolia, and many other groups, parties, and movements in Europe, Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

**Communique on Council of State Issued**  
*BK171213 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese*  
1100 GMT 17 Nov 87

[Communique on Council of State's 16-17 November session]

[Text] The Council of State met on 16 and 17 November 1987 under the chairmanship of its chairman, Vo Chi Cong.

1. The Council of State heard a report on the results of the National Conference on People's Councils held from 10-12 November 1987. The Council of State adopted the statutes on organization and activities of the people's councils at all levels.

2. The Council of State heard a report on the results of the organization of a poll of people's opinions on the draft agrarian law. The Council of State warmly welcomed the people and combatants, the large numbers of cooperative and production collective members, and cadres and personnel of various state organs and mass organizations who have actively participated in discussions and contributed many suggestions to the formulation of this draft law.

After hearing reports by the representatives of the Council of Ministers and the National Assembly Judiciary Committee on the study and reception of the suggestions contributed by the people and various echelons and sectors, the Council of State made suggestions on perfecting the draft law so as to present it to the National Assembly at its coming session.

3. After hearing reports by the Council of Ministers Law Drafting Board and the National Assembly Judiciary Committee on the draft code of criminal procedures, the Council of State made suggestions on readjusting this draft code so as to present it to the National Assembly.

4. At the proposal of the Council of Ministers and after hearing an investigative report by the Economic, Planning, and Budget Committee and the Judiciary Committee of the National Assembly, the Council of State

adopted a regulation on revising and amending some provisions of the regulations on industrial and trade taxes and the regulations on commodity taxes.

The Council of State stressed that the Council of Ministers, various sectors and organs concerned, and the people's committees at all levels should revamp their apparatuses and purify the contingent of tax cadres; enhance the state collection of industrial, trade, and commodity taxes; really rely on the people to ensure strict compliance with tax policies in tax collection; prevent tax collection shortfalls; and ensure sources of revenue for the state budget. At the same time, they must severely deal with negative phenomena among cadres and personnel in charge of tax collection.

5. After hearing a report by the general secretary of the Council of State on suggestions made by National Assembly deputies on the tentative agenda of the second National Assembly session, the Council of State decided to convene this session in the last 10 days of December 1987, with a tentative agenda as follows:

a. Decide on revising and amending the statutes of National Assembly deputies and the bylaw on National Assembly sessions;

b. Hear a report by the Council of Ministers on the status of implementing the resolution of the second plenum of the party Central Committee;

c. Adopt the report by the Council of Ministers on implementing the state plan and state budget for 1987, decide on the orientations and tasks of the 1986-90 5-year state plan, decide on the state plan and state budget for 1988, and ratify the balance sheet for the 1986 state budget;

d. Adopt the draft agrarian law and draft investment law for foreigners and make suggestions concerning the draft law of criminal procedures.

6. At the proposal of the Council of Ministers, the Council of State decided to appoint our country's ambassadors to a number of countries.

7. At the proposal of the chief justice of the Supreme People's Court, the Council of State decided to appoint a number of judges to the Supreme People's Court and the High-Level Military Court.

At the proposal of the Minister of Justice, the Council of State decided to appoint a number of judges to the military region military courts and regional military courts.

#### **Agenda for Assembly Session**

*BK171619 Hanoi VNA in English 1511 GMT  
17 Nov 87*

[Text] Hanoi VNA Nov 17—The State Council met here on Nov. 16 and 17 under the chairmanship of President Vo Chi Cong.

The State Council decided among other things to convene the second session of the 8th National Assembly in the latter half of December this year with the following projected agenda. —Amend the status of the deputies and the regulations about the sessions of the National Assembly. —Hear reports of the Council of Ministers on the implementation of the resolution of the party Central Committee's second plenum. —Adopt the Council of Ministers report on the implementation of the state plan and budget for 1987. —Decide on the orientation and tasks of the 1986-90 five-year state plan. —Decide on the state plan and budget for 1988.

—Ratify the balance of accounts in 1986.

—Approve the laws on the land and

—Make recommendations about the draft law on criminal prosecution.

#### **Attendees Named at Government Bonds Meeting**

*BK170702 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese  
1100 GMT 13 Nov 87*

[Text] According to a Voice of Vietnam radio correspondent, the Central Commission for Promoting the Purchase of Government Bonds held a meeting in Hanoi this morning with the finance, banking, and grain sectors to hear them report on their activities aimed at implementing the party Central Committee Secretariat's directive on launching the 1987-88 drive to buy government bonds in support of national construction, which will begin on 15 November.

Attending the meeting were Comrade Huynh Tan Phat, chairman of the VFF Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Central Commission for Promoting the Purchase of Government Bonds; Comrade Nguyen Khanh, member of the party Central Committee, vice chairman of the Council of Ministers, and vice chairman of the Central Commission for Promoting the Purchase of Government Bonds; and many standing members of the commission.

The Central Commission for Promoting the Purchase of Government Bonds praised the finance, banking, and grain sectors for having exerted efforts and adopted concrete measures to satisfactorily direct work in preparation for this drive.

According to a report by Comrade Cao Van Dang, deputy director of the Central Savings Fund, the banking sector has finished printing and sent to various localities government bonds worth 12 billion dong. As many as 150 million of these government bonds are of the 500-dong type.

All savings funds at the grass-roots level have prepared and arranged places for selling government bonds to the people during the first drive on 15 November. Meanwhile, the banking, finance, and grain sectors have also discussed measures to reuse those government bonds to be purchased by paddy, which were issued in the 1983-84 period and which have not been used, for sale to peasants who do not have cash. The Finance Ministry has also instructed various localities to settle all problems remaining from the previous drive.

**Newspaper Marks Coal Sector Anniversary**  
*BK170311 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese*  
2300 GMT 11 Nov 87

[12 November NHAN DAN Editorial; title not given]

[Text] This year the coal sector has scored new improvements in reorganizing production and improving management as it has been able to ensure its quarterly coal delivery plan and has provided more coal to various production sectors such as the electricity, cement, phosphate, nitrogenous fertilizer, and textile sectors. Implementing its annual plan, as of 7 November the entire sector had reached over 4.8 million of the planned 6.1 million metric tons of clean coal, removed 19,443,000 of the planned 24,750,000 cubic meters of overburden soil, and produced some 2.5 million of the planned 6.1 million metric tons of consumer coal. Thirty-nine mining enterprises, 29 worksites and workshops, 85 project sites, and 347 production teams and units have been cited for satisfactory accomplishment of their tasks.

Given its earlier achievements, the coal sector has embarked on its fourth quarterly production plan with greater confidence. As the remaining part of its planned tasks for the final months of the year are not so great, it is not necessary for the coal sector to launch massive and all-out efforts to fulfill the coal production quota for the period. Committing itself like that will only lead the coal sector to a situation where it may find itself beset with countless unfinished tasks to be completed before embarking on the new year plan.

The Hon Gai, Cam Pha, and Uong Bi coal corporations and the 3d Coal Corporation have showed positive changes for the better. An important lesson learned is that the coal sector has kept itself informed of weather conditions in order to make a rational redistribution of work for each workshift, each month, and each quarter. It has correctly coordinated efforts to remove soil overburden with the work of excavating coal and has not

relied on imports. It has, with a self-reliant spirit, organized the repair of vehicles and engines, exploited its existing potentials, coordinated the exploitation of coal in open-caste mines with underground excavation, cooperated with various units having equipment in exploiting coal, reorganized the rail and auto transportation network and the mechanized coal selecting system in order to make it possible for various units to develop its efficiency in production; and linked wages and bonuses with products through the contractual system.

In a situation where there are difficulties confronting the workers' livelihood, various coal mines know how to exploit the system permitted by the state to increase their revenue earmarked from the selling of their above-quota coal in order to improve their workers' food rations with attention paid to improving the health of those workers with high output and those working in difficult and unhealthy conditions.

Initial improvements obtained by the coal sector are praiseworthy. But effecting a change in the coal production situation, which has long been noted for its sluggishness, will not be easy and cannot be done quickly. As there are growing demands in the country for coal exploitation, coal miners are therefore all the more required to further uphold their persistent revolutionary tradition, strongly develop the right to autonomy in production and business of each relevant basic economic unit, satisfactorily fulfill their planned tasks for 1987, and make good preparations for future tasks.

The entire sector must strive to score new progress in reorganizing production and improving management, trying to resolve things that do not suit the production chain and to make sure that equipment and materials are sufficient. Specific attention must be paid to ensuring timely and stabilized supply of food grain and other essential goods and to improving the material and cultural life of mining workers.

**Australian-Funded Water Project Nears End**  
*BK170949 Hanoi VNA in English 0711 GMT*  
17 Nov 87

[Text] Hanoi VNA Nov.17—The first phase of the construction of the Tam Phuong irrigation project in Chau Thanh District in the Mekong River Delta province of Cuu Long has been more than 70 (seventy) percent completed.

This is a state-level project funded by the Australian Government through the Mekong interim committee, composed of Vietnam, Laos and Thailand. The cost for the first phase is estimated at 4.6 (four point six) million U.S. dollars. Construction started in early 1986. In the first phase, the project will irrigate and drain more than 5,000 hectares of aluminous and saline ricefields.

The second phase, to be financed also by the Australian Government, will expand the project to combine irrigation with fish and shrimp raising.



**Australia**

**Trade Deficit Drops \$200 Million in October**  
*BK171011 Melbourne Overseas Service in English*  
0803 GMT 17 Nov 87

[From the "International Report" Program; all figures in Australian dollars]

[Excerpt] Australia's position in world trade received a boost today with the release of the October balance of payment figures. The figures for October showed a deficit of \$1,180 million. The figure was well below market expectations and was a fall of more than \$200 million on the September figures.

The government has been quick to point out the October figures as proof that the economic adjustments they are making are correct. Radio Australia's national affairs correspondent, Michael Cavanagh, reports that the government has also used the release of the October balance of payment figures as an opportunity to criticize United States economic policy.

[Begin recording] Ever since last month's stock market crash, the Australian Government has managed to deflect any criticism of their handling of their economy by blaming much of the trouble on the U.S. Administration and their reluctance to cut its budget deficit. Both Prime Minister Bob Hawke and Treasurer Paul Keating resisted pressure to implement policy changes, continually claiming action their administration had undertaken was what countries, such as the United States, should have introduced long ago.

So the latest balance of payment figures for the month of October are unexpectedly good and no doubt will provide the government with further ammunition supporting their claim that what they are doing is correct. The local markets had been predicting a deficit figure of between \$1.3 to 1.7 billion. If it had been above that, increased pressure on the dollar was likely, therefore foreseeing a probable rise in domestic interest rates, which are presently around 14 and 16%, having recently fallen from historical high.

The October balance of payment figure is down from the previous month of \$1.2 billion. Exports, seasonally adjusted, rose 13% with the majority of these being wool and petroleum. Also encouraging was the increase in manufacturing, something which the government has been trying to encourage for some time. [passage omitted] [end recording]

**Hayden Urges U.S. To Solve Economic Problems**  
*BK171208 Melbourne Overseas Service in English*  
0803 GMT 17 Nov 87

[From the "International Report" program]

[Text] The Australian minister for foreign affairs and trade, Mr Bill Hayden, has warned of a new dark age of stagnation and protectionism and said that Australia is

living in the most difficult and threatening economic climate since the Second World War. Speaking in Melbourne last night, he said the fiscal imbalances between the policies of Japan and West Germany on the one hand and the United States on the other highlighted the disorder of the world's economic system. Mr Hayden told Murray Neville that if a new dark age were to be avoided, urgent action had to be taken by the United States.

[Begin recording] [Hayden] The longer the present undesirable international economic situation continues and continues to worsen, with large trade imbalances, positively on the side of Japan and Germany and negatively on the side of United States, then the more worried one must become at the prospect becoming almost a certainty. I must say it will be a certainty. The Americans will make substantial cuts in government spending and introduce revenue raising measures to get down the domestic deficit. There are a number of domestic measures they have got to take, too, to control their economy. Regrettably, the Americans have been trying to push the responsibility, the payment which goes with that responsibility for economic adjustment which they should conduct in their own country, on to other countries, and it just won't work.

[Neville] How long have they got to make those cuts, Mr Hayden?

[Hayden] I will try to qualify, but I don't think a lot of time. The collapse in the world stock exchanges, the collapse in the American dollar, the way that affects Australia's down with it, and the general loss of confidence in economic activity as a result of that. Investors are disturbed at what has happened and will suspend, in many cases, important investment programs. That means that there could be a slowdown in economic activity. That is why it is urgent that action be taken. If the United States doesn't take decisive action, doesn't take it sufficiently enough, extensively enough, and firmly enough, I am afraid any respite will be temporary at least and the problem will return with an even greater vengeance. We are living in easily the most difficult and threatening international economic climate that we have lived in at any stage since World War II.

[Neville] The dark age is an economic dark age, isn't that not being overdramatic?

[Hayden] It is a figure of speech but an appropriate figure of speech. Protectionism in its various forms, whether it is direct prohibition to trade or the undermining of free trade by subsidization policies, the whole range of these things are proliferating at the present time. That sort of tendency towards bilateral deals, towards shoddy arrangements between countries of [words indistinct] far more competitive countries really undermines multilateralism—that is in economic terms the essence of dark ages.

[Neville] Since the crash have you noticed any greater economic or trade responsibility by countries like the United States, Japan, or anybody?

[Hayden] [Words indistinct] with the announcement of President Reagan which contains substantial measures to bring back the deficit, I would see a close analysis of those figures to see whether they are as substantial as they could be. My own hunch from a superficial review of what is being reported is that it won't be enough, but we will have to wait and see. [end recording]

### **New Caledonia**

#### **Correction to Melanesian Protest Action**

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "Melanesians Protest Police Action in Village," published in the 16 November East Asia *Daily Report*, page 54: Column one, paragraph four, first sentence: ...the killing last Friday of a young Melanesian by gendarmes. The Melanesians who... (adding "by" and making "gendarme" plural)

### **Papua New Guinea**

**Somare To Resign From Pangu Party Leadership**  
*BK171155 Melbourne Overseas Service in English*  
1003 GMT 17 Nov 87

[From the "International Report" program]

[Excerpt] After weeks of speculation, the former prime minister of Papua New Guinea, Mr Michael Somare, has announced his intention to resign from the leadership of the Pangu Party. Mr Somare, who is often referred to as

the father of modern Papua New Guinea, helped form the Pangu Party more than 20 years ago. Radio Australia's Port Moresby correspondent, Sean Dorney, talks with Paul Murphy.

[Begin recording] [Murphy] Any great surprise that the chief, as he is called, has decided to call it a day?

[Dorney] It wasn't unexpected, Paul. We have been expecting something to happen for some time. The nature of the announcement was a little bit of a surprise. Mr Somare was to deliver the opposition's reply to the budget today. He delivered that fairly lengthy speech, and then at the end, put the papers down and to the surprise of even his own staff, announced that he would be standing down from the leadership of Pangu in the first 6 months of next year.

[Murphy] An emotional moment, Sean?

[Dorney] Fairly emotional, strictly for his own staff. Shortly after the announcement, I then went to his office. Some of the people who have been with him for many years, going back to independence, were a little red-eyed.

[Murphy] Why has he done it? Has he realized that he is a spent political force?

[Dorney] I think that's it, Paul. The last 3 months have been fairly unkind politically to Michael Somare. He just knows he lost out after the elections, when the Parliament met for the first time, lost out by just three votes to Paias Wingti. But, ever since then it has been downhill. There have been party defections from the opposition, there have been individual defections from his Pangu Party, and just a week ago when he was trying to put together opposition committees to represent—instead of opposition shadow spokesmen they put together shadow committees—all he could muster was 39 members, which meant that Paias Wingti has got a break on him of a majority of 30. [passage omitted]

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